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TAMIL CULTURE

JOURNAL OF THE ACADEMY OF TAMIL CULTURE

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TO OUR READERS

It is very much regretted that owing to unavoidable circumstances, Issue No. 4 of 1959 has been unduly delayed. The current issue may also be delayed though we are trying our best to minimise it. We crave the kind indulgence of our readers and patrons.

Hony. Secretary,
Tamil Culture.

On the Uses of Participles and Participial Nouns in Tamil

M. ANDRONOV

The syntax of the Dravidian languages is not elaborately described, and various ways, in which participles and participial nouns are generally used, have not been hitherto classified. Thus, for instance, J. Bloch in the paragraph devoted to participles, is compelled simply to state that " les rapports entre ce participe et le nom sur lequel īl s"appule d"une part, et les termes de la proposition établie sur ce participe d"autre part, sont indéterminés dans la forme et doivent se traduire de façon variée ".[1]

But formal indeterminateness of these relations between the participle and the noun on which it depends does not deny the fact of existence of some models which regulate and determine the uses of participles and participial nouns in this language.

I

Participles, as other verbal forms in Tamil, have no voice characteristics.[2] This leads to the fact that the same participle can be used in active sense in one context and in passive sense in another. Everything depends here on the order of words and on their lexical meaning. Thus, for instance, the past participle of the verb paṭi- " to read " paṭitta can be used in active sense as well as in passive. This distinction depends, in this example, on the meaning of the word, determined by the participle : paṭitta paiyan̲ means " the boy who read ", while paṭitta pāṭam means

1 J. Bloch, Structure grammaticale des langues dravidiennes, Paris, 1946, p. 65.

2 Cf. : " Rien dans le verbe ne signale voix, mode ou aspect." *Ibid.*, p. 100.

"the lesson which was read". These compounds can be understood only in this way because of the lexical meaning of the nouns, that is because by their nature the boy cannot be read and the lesson cannot read.

In a number of cases, however, the meaning of the word is not sufficient to determine the character of the action, expressed by the participle. Thus, in pārtta paiyan̲ the participle pārtta (from pār- "to see") can be interpreted in both the ways: "the boy who saw" and "the boy who was seen". In such cases an indication should be given to the subject of the action, expressed by the participle: the participle has an active character when its subject coincides with the word determined by the participle; the participle has a passive character when the subject of the action does not coincide with the word determined by the participle. E.g.,

> en̲n̲aip pārtta paiyan̲ "the boy who saw me", and
> nān̲ pārtta paiyan̲ "the boy who was seen by me".

Peculiarity of the Tamil verb is that in the latter instance the subject of the action, expressed by the participle, is put, as a rule, in the nominative case.[3] E.g.,

Tāy con̲n̲a collait taṭṭātē pāppā ! (P., K., 174)	Do not disobey the words spoken by your mother, child !

This peculiarity (the subject in the nominative case) is characteristic of participles, derived from intransitive verbs, too. Like participles of transitive verbs, these participles are used as an attribute to some other word. E.g.,

1. Tān̲ nin̲ra iṭattiliruntu koṇṭē takarak kuvaḷaiyai nīṭṭin̲āḷ. (A , 8)	She stayed at the place, where she stood, and held out her tin.

[3] Some expressions of physical possibility to perform an action make an exception to this rule :

Avar tammāl ceyyakkūṭiya utaviyaic ceytār	He helped as he could.
Atu tan̲n̲āl ān̲avarai kutittuppārttatu.	It (a fox) tried to jump as high as it could,

2. Viṣam kalanta pālait tayārittuk koṭukkiṟāḷ. (C-2, 44)	She prepares some milk mixed with poison. (Or : milk with which poison has mixed.)

So, every participle in Tamil, irrespective of transitiveness or intransitiveness of the verb from which it is derived, has a subject in the nominative case, unless this subject coincides with a word, determined by the participle.

In some of such cases, the subject of the action, expressed by the participle, can be omitted and he understood only with the help of the context. For instance,

1. Eṅkaḷ vīṭṭukku vantavuṭaṉ avaḷaik kūppiṭṭēṉ. (Ki. Vā. Ja., Pū., 2)	I called her when she was passing our house.
2. Eṉṉaik kātalitta kuṟṟattiṟkāka kaṭavuḷ avaḷai maṉṉikkavēṇṭum ! (P., P., 6)	May God forgive her for having loved me !

(The subject of both the participles — aval — is omitted here to avoid repetition.)

Cf. also piṟanta tiṉam " birthday " (but not " the day which was born " !) and iṟanta tiṉam.

These features of Tamil participles underlie their use with postpositions, which for the most part are or have been nouns. Such a noun-postposition is determined by a participle, the subject of which is expressed by another noun. E.g.,

1. Nāṉ varum pōtellām... (Lā. Ca. Rā., Ja., 83)	Every time when I came...

2. Paiyan̲ nīṅkaḷ nin̲aik-kir̲apaṭi illai. (Ki. Vā. Ja., Pa. Ma., 6)	The boy is not what you think of him.

(Here the nouns-postpositions paṭi and pōtu are determined by the participles nin̲aikkir̲a and varum, which have subjects of their own — nīṅkaḷ and nān̲.)

II

Participial nouns have both the nominal and verbal characteristics. As nouns, they can be declined, act as a subject or predicate in the sentence. E.g.,

1. In̲imēl naṭappataip-par̲r̲ittān̲ē yōcikka-vēṇṭum. (K., C.C., 378)	It is of the things which are going to happen that we must think.
2. ...Kālaiyilēyē pōn̲a-van̲ in̲n̲um ēn̲ tirum-pivaravillai...? (*Ibid.*, 405)	Why hasn't he returned who had gone in the morning ?
3. Avar Tamiḷ eluttā-ḷarkaḷin̲ nan̲maiyai virumpupavar. (Ki. Va. Ja., Pū., 141)	He is a well-wisher of Tamil writers.

As verbs, participial nouns

(a) can be conjugated by tenses ;

(b) can govern a noun in the same case as all the other forms of the verb ; e.g.,

Tantaiyaik kon̲r̲avan̲aip paḷi vāṅkuvēn̲ ! (K, 2-9-56, 37)	I shall revenge upon him who has killed my father !

(c) can be determined by verbal participles, adverbial forms and infinitives ; e.g.,

1. Kukaiyai mūṭic cen̲r̲avarkal . . . (P., Ka., 256)	Those who were going, closing (the entrance of) the cave . . .
2. Appaṭip pārttavarkaḷukku oru kāṭci mar̲akkāmal irukkalām. (C-2, 7)	Those who have seen (this film) under such circumstances may have not forgotten one scene.
3. Avarkaḷ kavan̲ikka vēṇṭupavai evai ? (V., IV, 54)	Which are those that demand their attention ?

(d) can have a subject of their own in the nominative case. E.g.,

Avarkaḷ en̲n̲iṭam con̲n̲avar̲r̲ai yellām un̲n̲iṭam collip payan̲illai. (Ki. Vā. Ja., Pū., 121)	There is no use telling you all the things which they told me.

Participial nouns, derived from intransitive verbs, can also have a subject in the nominative case. In such cases a participial noun denotes a person which suffers an action, expressed by this participial noun and performed by its subject. E.g.,

Āvēcam vantavaḷaippōla . . . ōṭin̲ēn̲. (Ki. Vā. Ja., Pa. Ma., 13)	I ran like a woman possessed by fury. (Or : a woman to which fury came.)

Like all the other verbal forms in Tamil, participial nouns have no voice differentiation. Therefore, participial

nouns, derived from transitive verbs, can be passive as well as active in their meaning. E.g., irāyaṉ eṉpavaṉuṭaiya tāyār (T.R., 26) means " the mother of a man who is called a king " (but not " a man who says : a king " from the root eṉ- " to say, to call ").

Of all the participial nouns those of the neutral gender singular are the most widely used and most peculiar ones.

In a number of cases they are used as other participial nouns and denote that which performs an action. E.g.,

1. Ceṉṟatai eppaṭik koṇṭuvara muṭiyum ? (P., P., 9)	How to bring back that which has already passed ?
2. Avaḷ kavaṉattai iḷuttatu, antak kural putitāka iruntatu tāṉ. (Ti. Jā., Ko. Mē., 66)	Which drew her attention was that she didn't know the voice.

Participial nouns of the neutral gender singular, derived from transitive verbs, can have passive meaning and denote that which was, is, or will be performed. E.g.,

1. Cūtāṭi iḷantataip peṟalām. (P., P., 7)	It will be possible to return what was lost in the game.

(Ilantatu here means " that which was lost " from the root iḷa- " to lose ".)

2. Eṉṉa ceyvatu ? (P., K., 256)	What is that which will be done ?

(Ceyvatu " that which will be done " from the root cey- " to do ".)

3. Aḷakāṉa kaṭikāram; camīpattil vāṅkiṉatu ... (P. Tū., U.P., 78)	A nice watch; it was bought recently.

(Vāṅkiṉatu "that which was bought" from vāṅku- "to buy".)

As other participial nouns, the participial nouns of the neutral gender singular can have a subject in the nominative case, irrespective of transitiveness or intransitiveness of the verb from which they are derived. In such cases the character of the participial noun is slightly modified, and it comes to denote an action, performed by the subject of this participial noun (but not the thing which performs an action). E.g.,

Nīr colvatu uṇmaittāṉ. (P., P., 3)	That, which you say, is true.

This peculiarity is common for participial nouns and participles. It is the result of the absence of voice differentiation in Tamil and leads to the fact that the same construction is characteristic of transitive and intransitive verbs. E.g.,

Oru nāḷ, oru cēvakaṉ varukiṟataik kaṇṭu... (T.R., 25)	One day, seeing that a servant is coming...

Like participles, participial nouns may have no subject. In some of such cases the subject is simply omitted and can be easily understood from the context. E.g.,

1. Jaṉṉaliliruntu vekutūrattil iruntatāl, ataip pārkka muṭiya villai. (P., P., 10)	Since it (a statuette) was very far from the window, I could not see it.

(The subject of the participial noun atu is dropped to avoid repetition.)

2. Vicāraṇaiyiṉ pōtu, pūṭṭuc carippaṭuttupavaṉ mātiri anta aṟaikkuḷ v a n t a t u, aṭikkaṭi vīṭṭiṉ pakkattil kāṇappaṭṭatu nāṉ piccaikkāraṉ, pūṭṭai uṭaikkak kūṭiyavaṉ eṉpatellām nirūpikkap paṭṭaṉa. (P., P, 10)

It was proved at the court that (I) came into the room as a locksmith, that they often saw (me) near the house, that I was a beggar, that (I) could break the lock.

(The subject nāṉ is omitted by all the participial nouns in this sentence.)

Very often, however, this participial noun has no subject and it cannot be learnt from the context. In such cases the participial noun of the neutral gender singular assumes a different meaning and denotes not the thing, which performs an action, and not the action, performed by the subject of this participial noun, but an action, performed by an indeterminate subject, or an action which is going on by itself. Every one or people in general can be understood as a subject of this action. Owing to such semantics, it makes no difference for the speaker, who exactly is the performer of the action of the participial noun, the speaker, so to say, abstracts himself from the subject of the action, which seems now to be going on independently and to have no need in any subject whatever. As a result of it, the participial noun, which now has no connection with any subject, assumes the meaning of nomen actionis. E.g.,

1. ...Nirmalā p o ṉ ṟ a peṇkaḷai nampuvatu kaṭiṉam. (K., 2-9-56, 22)

Believing in women like Nirmala is difficult.

2. Ivvaḷavu avamariyātaikkuppin mukattaik kāṭṭuvatu eppaṭi ? (A., 4)	How can showing one's face be after such disgrace ?

To sum up, a participial noun of the neutral gender singular can have following meanings : —

1. That which performs an action (ceyvatu " that which will do ").

2. That which is being performed (Enna ceyvatu ? " What is that which will be done ? ").

3. That which is performed by the subject of the participial noun (nīr ceyvatu " that which you will do ").

4. Nomen actionis (ceyvatu " doing ").

A. — *Ampikai,* Cennai, 1946

C-2 — *Citrā,* Cennai, 1955, No. 2

K. — *Kalki,* Cennai, 1956

K., C.C. — Kalki, *Civakāmiyin Capatam,* Cennai, 1955

Ki.Vā.Ja., Pa.M. — Ki. Vā. Jakannātan, *Pavala mallikai* Cennai, 1954

Ki.Vā.Ja., Pū. — Ki. Vā. Jakannātan, *Pūkkāri,* Cennai, 1954

Lā.Ca.Rā., Ja. — Lā. Ca. Rāmāmirutam, *Janani,* Cennai, 1952

P., K. — *Pāraṭiyār Kavitaikaḷ,* Cennai, 1958

P., Ka. — *Pāratiyār Kaṭaikaḷ,* Cennai, 1957

P., P.	— Putumaippittaṉ. *Paḷiṅkuc cilai,* Ceṉṉai, 1955
P.Tū., U.P.	— P. Tūraṉ, *Urimaip Peṇ,* Ceṉṉai, 1956
Ti.Jā., Ko.Mē.	— Ti Jāṉakirāmaṉ *Koṭṭu Mēlam,* Ceṉṉai, 1954
T.R.	— G. U. Pope, *Tamil Prose Reader,* Oxford, 1906
V.	— *Putiya Muṟait Tamiḷaka Vācakam,* Ceṉṉai, 1952.

Growth of Temples Under the Cōḷas

(A. D. 880—1280)

M. RAJAMANIKKAM

Āditya Cōḷa and his successors turned their attention to converting the earlier temples of bricks into those of stone. If it is borne in mind that many of the temples sung by the Nāyaṉmārs were situated in the districts of Tanjore and Tiruccirāppaḷḷi—the delta area of the Kāviri, where granite was so scarce to get, their great efforts at reconstruction will be better appreciated. It was almost impossible to transport large granite pieces and slabs of stones from the neighbouring hilly districts, so as to reconstruct, within a specified time, all the brick temples into stone. If every part of the temple was to be reconstructed with stone, a still larger quantity of granite would be required. Hence the Cōḷa Kings, their feudatories and others began to reconstruct at first the Mūlasthāna (கருவறை) and the Vimāna of the older temples in stone.

Their first attention was also centred mostly on such of those temples as had been celebrated in the hymns of the Nāyaṉmārs. Those existed at Tiruviḍaimarudūr, Āmāttūr, S'enduṟai, Āvaḍuturai, Visayamangai, Ālanduṟai, Arisiṟkaraipputtūr, Maḷapāḍi, Oṟṟiyūr, Vaigāvūr, Nīḍūr, Paluvūr, Perunduṟai, Aṟaiyaṉinallūr, Vakkarai, Tiruppālaivaṉam, Mākaral and Vēḷvikkuḍi.[1]

One inscription (Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1931-32) " commences with the introduction Puyaḷvāyppa etc. of Kulōthunga Choḷa III. Damaged and incomplete. Purports to be

1 199 of 1907, 413 of 1903, 316 of 1903, 126 & 143 of 1925, 165 of 1929, 358 of 1903, 282 of1908, 92 of 1895, 126 of 1912, 51 of 1914, 534 of 1921, 393 of 1924, 134 of 1932, 387 of 1902, 200 of 1904, 313 of 1929, 224 of 1901, and 139 of 1926.

the copy of an inscription engraved on stone when the original *brick temple* of Tirupperunturai Uḍaiyār *was converted into a stone temple* in the reign of Karikāla-chōḷa, on which occasion the inscriptions previously engraved on the door Jambs and the eaves of stone were copied on the temple walls." (134 of 1932).

Having completed these they turned their attention to the other temples which yet required their benefactions. Caṇḍēśvara Nāyaṉār was considered the Chief supervising authority of every Śiva temple. The receipts and charges and the purchase and sale of temple properties were entered in his name. And it became customary also to build a separate shrine for him alone in the very first prākāra adjoining the main shrine of the Lord. That shrine also underwent renovation in stone in the days of the cōḷas.[2]

An inscription at the Umāmahēśvara Temple at Kōnerirājapuram records that the *stone temple of Chandēśwara* was built by Tiṭṭai-Viḷumiyān alias Pillai-aḍiyār. This was built in the 15th year of Kulōthunga-chōḷadēva I (658 of 1909).

Before such renovation was taken up, all stone inscriptions found on the foundation stone or on the walls of the old temple, were copied down in a book, and after the reconstruction they were carved and inscribed afresh on the walls. Thus it was that the registry of endowments of the ancients were preserved. This system was followed strictly by royal orders in the Cōḷa period.[3]

An inscription on the beams of the manḍapa in front of the central shrine in the Trilōkanāthaswami Temple at Tirupparuttikkunṟam (near Kānchi), is a copy of an inscription belonging to the 13th year of Vikrama Chōḷa-dēva *re-engraved* when the manṭapa was *re-built*. (98 of 1923).

Generally, every temple had first the Mūlasthāna and the Naḍu manṭapa (central manṭapa), then the mukha

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2 658 of 1909.

3 199 of 1907; A.R.E. 1911, p. 72; 1913, p. III and 1922-23 p. 106.

maṇṭapa or the front maṇṭapa; and next the first compound and the wall around it.[4]

An inscription (224 of 1901) of the Vaikunta Perumal temple at Māgaral (Chingleput Dt.) records the building of the Central Shrine, the Arthamanḍapa, another manḍapa, and a flight of steps.

As mentioned before, in the first prākāra there was the shrine for Caṇḍīsar. In that same prākāra proceeding from the right, places were assigned for the Sun in the south-east, for Ganēśa and the Sapta Kānnikās in the south-west, for Subrahmanya in the west, for Jēṣtā in the north-west, for Caṇḍīsar in the north and for the Moon in the north-east. These subsidiary shrines existed separately and in the pillared corridor (திருச்சுற்றாலை) adjoining the compound wall in some temples. There were from one to four gateways in the compound wall according to the size of the temple. Small gōpuras were built on these gateways until the days of Rājarāja and Rājēndra, the Vimāna over the Mūlasthāna assumed all prominence and it was built very high. After Rājēndra, with the exception of Tirubuvana temple of Kulōttunga III, the height of Vimānas came to be reduced and gōpuras were raised to greater heights. Flower gardens came to be laid out in the open space in the outer compound and in some places inside the temples.[5]

An inscription (135 of 1925) in the Śiva temple at Tiruvāvaḍuturai registers a sale of land, free of taxes, by the assembly of Sāttanūr to Sankayan Oṛri, for the maintenance of a coconut and a *flower-garden* for the temple.

Similarly temple tanks[6] were dug and the second and the third prākārās were built in such of those temples as received greater attention.[7]

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4 357 of 1907, 314, 55 of 1908, 224 of 1901.

5 222 of 1911, 149 of 1928, 144 of 1937, 216 & 260 of 1907, 135 of 1925, 94 of 1925, 319 of 1903, 318 of 1926, 69 of 1897, 249 of 1907, 49 of 1918, 120 of 1926, 18 of 1922, 15 of 1912, 45 of 1925, 128 of 1930, 380 of 1918, 457 & 458 of 1902, 254 of 1926, 120 & 125 of 1922.

6 475 of 1912 & 393 of 1926.

7 516 of 1920 & 72 of 1918.

An inscription in the Marundīśwarar temple at Tirutturaippūndi (Tanjore Dt.) records sale of land at Chōlanmarutinallūr, a hamlet of Suttamalli-Chaturvēdimangalam, by the members of the samvatsara-grama-karya of that village, for *digging a sacred tank,* for the temple of Tirutturaippūndi Uḍayār.

In course of time, smaller shrines raised by the Kings, feudatories and others found places in these prākāras.[8]

An inscription (516 of 1920) in the Āpatsahāyar temple at Ālangudi (Tanjore Dt.) records gift of land by Vānadaraya alias Rājendra Koṟṟamangalam Nāḍālvān *for construction with stone the second prākāra* of the temple and for offering to the God.

There is a small ruined temple within the Chandramauliśvara temple at Tiruvakkarai (South Arcot Dt.). An inscription on the south base of the ruined—śiva temple records a gift to the stone temple of S'ivalōkhamuḍiya—Paramaśwāmin *built by* Uḍaiyapirāṭṭiyār *Sembian Mādēviyār* queen of Gaṇḍarātitta dēvar, who gave birth to Sri—Uttama—chōḷa dēva.

Inscription No. 40 of 1906 mentions that the smaller shrines of Kālakāladēvar, Kuttāḍundēvar, Kulōttunga Cōḷīśvaram-Uḍaiyār and Vikrama Cōḷīśvaram-Uḍaiyār existed in the temple of Tiru-vīraṭṭānam-Uḍaiyār at Tirukkaḍavūr.

A separate shrine for the Goddess did not exist in the S'iva-temple in the age of the Pallavas and the early Cōḷas. The Goddess had been assigned a separate place in the Lord's shrine itself, with the name of 'Bhōga-S'akti Ammaṉ' (போகசக்தி அம்மன்). Rājarāja I refers to this Bhōgo-S'akti-Ammaṉ as Umā Paramēśvari. It is in the Eṇṇāyiram inscription of Rājēndra-I that we find the first mention of a shrine for the goddess in the Tiruccuṟṟālai of

[8] Tamil Polil, 23, p. 155; 325 & 335 of 1902, 200 of 1904 & A.R.E. 1913, p. 86.

the temple. Only after that, separate shrines came to be built for Amman.[9] Many inscriptions reveal, that by the end of the Cōḷa reign, shrines for Amman were newly constructed in many temples.[10]

An inscription (429 of 1912) in the Vīraṭṭānēśvara temple at Vaḷuvūr registers *the construction of the shrine of the goddess* in the north-west corner of the north Verandha by Ekavāchakan Ulagukanviḍutta-Perumāl alias Vānakōvaraiyar, Chief of Tuṇḍa-nāḍu in Muḍigoṇḍasōḷa-valanadu.

As the influence of the temples increased, several maṇṭapas also were constructed in their spacious compounds. The S'iruttoṇḍa Nambi Maṇṭapa at Sengāṭṭaṇguḍi, Vakkāṇikkum Maṇṭapa at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, the maṇṭapas with the names of 'Mannaikoṇḍa-Cōḷan', 'Rājārājāṇ', 'Rājēndran' and Vyākarnadāna Vyākhyāna Maṇṭapa need mention. The last-mentioned one was intended for the teaching of grammar. In some temples there were Naṭana Maṇṭapa[11] and Naṭaka maṇṭapas.[12]

An inscription in the Śiva Temple at Tiruvāvaḍuturai (152 of 1925) registers a sale of land to the temple at Tiruvāḍuturai by the Assembly of Kāṭṭūr and a grant of 70 Kāśu, by Rājādhirājan towards the taxes on the land, for the maintenance of a *theatre* called '*Nānāvida-naṭaśālai*' in the temple.

There was also Tirukkaikkōṭṭi Maṇṭapa[13] in some temples, where the Tirumuṟais were preserved and recited. In some temples there were the hundred-pillared maṇṭapas[14] and yāyaśālai.[15] Many also were the temples which had ordinary maṇṭapas.[16] There was a thousand-pillared

9 Colar Koyirpanigal, pp. 13-14.

10 429 of 1912, 701 of 1909, 225 of 1901, 28 of 1914, 400 of 1913, 182 of 1926, 504 of 1912, 184 of 1928 & 351 of 1911.

11 152 of 1925 & 154 of 1895.

12 199 of 1907, 157 of 1905, 398 of 1921, 152 of 1925, 253 & 254 of 1914.

13 203 of 1908, 414 & 454 of 1909, 10 & 381 of 1918, 350 of 1929.

14 S.I.I. 4; 225 & 369 of 1921.

15 369 of 1921.

16 400 of 1913, 254 of 1922, 119 of 1906, 429 of 1922 & 645 of 1902.

maṇṭapa at Tiruvakkarai.[17] In the construction of a maṇtapa at Tiruvakkarai there arose certain obstacles and to circumvent them an individual beheaded himself as a sacrifice.[18]

> An inscription (119 of 1906) in the Śiva temple at Tiruvakkarai registers a gift of land to the younger brother of a person who cut off his own head in order that a mantapa which was being constructed might be completed.

There were Māḷigais (palatial buildings) in some temples.[19] The Māḷigai that existed in the Nīḍūr temple was called the 'Puriśai Māḷigai' intended for expounding the Purāṇas.[20]

An inscription (276 of 1913) in the Natarāja temple at Chidambaram clearly mentions Vikramasōḷaṉ—Tirumāḷigai.

Since we find names like, 'Tirumāḷigaittēvar', 'Māḷigai Maḍattu Mudaliyar', we might presume that these Māḷigais served as residences and teaching halls for the S'aiva religious teachers. There were maṭhas in many big temples. In them lived both the āchāryas well-versed in S'aiva Siddhānta S'āstras and the students learning the S'āstras. There existed also in many temples, libraries knows as S'arasvati Bhaṇḍāram.[21]

The development of the śaiva faith was responsible for stone-built and enlarged temples in the age of the Cōḷas. They were built of mud to begin with and they were of small dimensions in the days of the Pallavas. The bhakti

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17 190 of 1904.

18 119 of 1906.

19 429 of 1922 & 535 of 1921.

20 535 of 1921.

21 276 of 1913; Since there were colleges at Tirumukkudal, Ennayiram, Tiribuvanai, Tiruvorriyur, Vembarrur and Tiruvavaduturai, there might have been in existence libraries containing many kinds of works of Sastras.

and the workmanship of the architects who took such enormous pains to convert them into stone temples demand our praise. The Cōḷas held those masons in esteem and granted them lands.[22]

An inscription (70 of 1913) in the Śiva Temple at Tiruchengāṭṭangudi records the grant of landed property to Rajēndra-sōḷa-Āchāriyan, who was perhaps the temple architect.

There was sculptured in the temple of Tiruvāvaḍuturai the image of Kaṟṟalippiccan who was responsible for the renovation of that temple.[23]

An inscription is engraved near a figure standing in front of a linga (in the Śiva temple at Tiruvāvaḍuturai) with hands placed close to the chest in a worshipping attitude. The inscription states that this is the figure of Śri Kaṟṟaḷippiccan.

22 357 of 1904, 70 of 1913, 403 of 1908 and S.I.I. 2.66.
23 132 of 1925.

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The Indian Synthesis, and Racial and Cultural Inter-Mixture in India*

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

The General President of the All-India Oriental Conference may be expected to give his considered opinion on some broad aspect of Indian history and civilisation in which he is specially interested. My own subject has been Linguistics, and this, as a human science, is intimately linked up with the other human sciences like Anthropology, Ethnology, Sociology, Religiology etc. dealing with the various aspects and expressions of human life and culture Language is intimately connected with Culture. What may be described as the "Language-Culture" background or basis of a people is more apparent and on the surface than its race; yet it is no less deep in the mental and spiritual consciousness of the people. This is true especially when the original race has lost its basic character through interbreeding with other races. From the linguistic and cultural approaches, we may delve deeper into the fundamental racial beings and their pre-historic and historic modifications, leading to the evolution of new mixed types.

I propose as the Theme of my Discourse as President of this Conference the Subject of—"The Indian Synthesis, and Racial and Cultural Inter-mixture in India".

The word *Indian* is used in its most comprehensive sense, embracing all the various peoples or groups which go to make up the population of India. Within their formal religious or cultural affiliations, there is a basic mixed character which embraces all the peoples of India. This basic character is, consciously or unconsciously, shared by

* Presidential Address delivered at the All-India Oriental Conference, Ahmedabad, in October 1953, reproduced here through the courtesy of Dr. Chatterji.

all, and it has kept its lien with the attitude towards life and being which developed in ancient India, after the Indian people, as we find them now, became first characterised by miscegenation — the attitude which we might label as *Hindu* in its widest application. This embraces not only the world of the Brāhman, Buddhist and Jaina, but also later specialised expressions of the same attitude — including some aspects of Islam and Christianity as they developed within the Indian *milieu.*

The people and culture of India form a composite, a mixture, of at least four distinct types of humanity, which may loosely be called "race". With their various ramifications presenting distinct anthropological groupings, all may be brought under one or the other of the four kinds of "Language-Culture" which we find in India from very ancient times. **The Indian people is a mixed people, in blood, in speech, and in culture.**

At the outset, I think it would be necessary to make a few general observations. The fundamental Unity of Man is a proposition which, if properly realised and not merely theoretically admitted, will enable us to think of racial and cultural miscegenation without repugnance, as a most natural thing in human relations. In India, this Unity of Man came to be regarded as part of the All-comprehensive Reality, the Supreme Self or the Over-Soul: as the Īśā Upanishad says —

yas tu sarvāṇi bhūtāni ātmany ēvānupas'yati,
sarva-bhūtēṣu cātmānam, tatō na vijugupsatē :

"He who sees all creatures in the Self, and the Self in all creatures, because of that does not wish to hide himself away from (or hate) any one."

It was in India, too, that this sentiment was expressed in her greatest book, the Sanskrit epic of the Mahābhārata —

guhyam brahma tad idam bhō bravīmi,
na mānūṣāc chrēṣṭhataram hi kiñcit :

"This is the secret doctrine, I announce to you:
There is nothing higher than Man."

The division of mankind into *Ārya* and *Mlēccha*, *Hellēnes* and *Barbaroi, Israel* and *Goyyim* (or Jew and Gentile), White and Coloured, Christian and Pagan, *Muslim* and *Kāfir*, Communist and Capitalist, as implying an inherent or divinely ordained racial or cultural superiority of the one over the other, is something which cannot be admitted by any rationally thinking person. Yet we find overt or covert feelings of this kind of separatism operating in the minds of men in most lands. The desire for power and pelf, which dominates and underlies all organised movements for economic and political, religious and cultural expansion — movements which are generally blind to other deeper factors in life — makes an easy alliance with this sense of separatism. Just as no man is an island unto himself, so is no race or people or country basically separated or isolated from the others: we are linked with each other inextricably.

It has generally been accepted by competent scholars, both in India and abroad, who have been investigating into **Indian civilisation,** that the fundamental trait of this civilisation may be described as **a Harmony of Contrasts,** or as **a Synthesis creating a Unity out of Diversity.** Perhaps more than any other system of civilisation, it is broad and expansive and all-comprehensive, like life itself, and it has created an attitude of acceptance and understanding which will not confine itself to a single type of experience only. to the exclusion of all others.

The Indian Synthesis, apart from a most remarkable intermingling of material cultures and religious and social cults and customs, as well as doctrines and notions, is based on the higher intellectual and idealistic plane on the following: a Sense of the Unity of All Life as an expression of an Unseen Reality which is both transcendant and imma-

nent (**kata-v-ul,** as an old Tamil name for the Divinity puts it) ; a Desire for Synthesis, seeking to combine apparently disconnected or discordant fragments in life as well as experience in their proper place in an Essential Unity ; a rigid Adherence to the Intellect, while seeking to harmonise it in the higher plane with Emotion, with Intuition, and with mystic Perception ; a Recognition of the Sufferings and Sorrows of Life, and an Attempt to remove them by going to the root cause of these Sorrows and Sufferings ; a Feeling for the Sacredness of all Life ; and above all, a great Tolerance for all other Beliefs and Points of View. The realisation of this Ultimate Reality is the *summum bonum* in life, and the paths for this realisation are recognised to be various according to individual training, temperament or predilection — whether of Knowledge, or Love (with the background of Grace), or Self-discipline, or Good Deeds, even as the Ultimate Reality manifests itself in innumerable ways before the ken and cognisance of man. Its conception of the material world transcends time and space, and Matter and Energy are just different forms of the same physical stuff which is but an outward manifestation of this Unseen Reality.

All this synthesising tendency has been induced and made easy of development by the great fact of the presence in the Indian scene, from very ancient times, of different peoples with their diverse languages and cultures, and modes of living and thinking. These were all inevitably drawn together and were accommodated in a composite civilisation, in which there was no scope for the establishment of racialism, as from the very beginning, race-fusion started as a permanent feature. The name of one dominant race, *Ārya,* very soon lost its narrow ethnic significance or application and became rather a word to denote nobility and aristocracy of character and temperament. With the general acceptance of the Aryan language in North India, and with the admission of its prestige in the South as well, the fact that this language was pro-

foundly modified within India by taking shape in a non-Aryan environment reconciled the Dravidians and others to come under the tutelage of Sanskrit as the sacred language of Hinduism and as the general vehicle of Indian culture.

India received all her human inhabitants, who came in successive waves, from abroad. These represent six main races in their nine ramifications, and speaking among them, languages belonging to at least four different speech-families which are still current — and there might have been other ones also which are now extinct. The speakers of these languages which are living till today, whatever their race or anthropological type, thus pertained to four " Language-Culture " groups.

The oldest people to come into India belonged to the Negrito or Negroid race, who arrived in the eolith stage of their culture from Africa along the coast lands of Arabia and Iran and settled in Western and Southern India and spread over to Northern India, and passed on to Malaya and the islands of Indonesia (Philippines and New Guinea). They were mostly killed off or absorbed by subsequent arrivals in India. They survive in a few tribes in South India where they now speak dialects of Tamil, and traces of them are found among the Mongoloid Nagas in Assam. A small number still retaining their language is isolated in the Andaman Islands, which they reached in prehistoric times, in their dug-outs from the south-western tip of Burma, namely, Cape Negrais. The Negroids evidently passed away, leaving hardly any trace in Indian civilisation and among the Indian people.

After the Negroids there came to India from the West, from Palestine, the medium-sized long-headed, snub-nosed and rather dark-skinned proto-Australoids. Some of these passed out of India and found themselves as far as Australia, where their descendants still live as the Australian

aborigines ("Black Fellows"). Those who stayed on in India evidently became characterised into the Austric people, and developed their language and culture on the soil of India. The Austric people spread outside India in the East, and we note two main divisions of them: (1) Austro-Asiatics, represented by the Kol or Munda people of Central India, the Khasis of Assam, the Mons of Burma and Siam, the Khmers of Cambodia, the Chams of Cochin-China, and some other allied tribes in Burma and Viet-Nam, besides the Nicobarese; and (2) the Austronesians, comprising the Indonesians or "Malay people", the Melanesians and Micronesians, and the Polynesians. Everywhere there has been mixture of the Austric people with those of other races — Negroids and Caucasoids. The Austrics of India were known in ancient India as *Niṣādas*, and possibly also as *Nāgas* (as well as *Kollas* and *Bhillas* in post-Christian times). They were a dark-skinned people, speaking languages and dialects allied to Santali, Mundari, Kurku, Gadaba and Savara, and to Khasi and Mon-Khmer dialects, as well as other speeches of the two branches of the family. These Austrics were spread all over India, and they form the most important element among the lower classes or castes throughout the country. In the great plains of North India, they have merged into an Aryan-speaking people and have lost their name and their language. They gave some basic things in the material and spiritual domains to Indian civilisation, like the stick or hoe cultivation of rice, of some plants and vegetables, the domestication of the fowl, the taming of the elephant, the weaving of cotton, and some notions about future life which later were sublimated with the help of other elements into the doctrine of transmigration and *samsāra*.

The Mongoloid peoples, with a number of different racial elements possessing certain common physical characteristics (yellow or yellow-brown skin, narrow or slant eyes, high cheek-bones, flat noses and paucity of hair on face), came into India probably before the Aryans, who

knew them as *Kirātas*. Evidence of their presence as far down as Mohenjo-Daro has been found. They entered into India from the East, along the course of the Brahmaputra river and its eastern tributaries, and also by way of Tibet, crossing the eastern Himalayas. They formed wide settlements throughout Assam, Bhotan and Nepal (which are Kirāta lands in India *par excellence*), and also in East and North Bengal, North Bihar and the regions to the south of the Himalayas in North India right up to Kashmir. Some of them appear to have penetrated even further to the South — into Orissa and Central India (Bastar in Madhya Pradesh). The participation of the Kirātas in the common civilisation of India has been confined to the north and north-east only. But nevertheless, we have to take note of them as an important element in the formation of the Indian people in the extreme north, east and north-east, and in their participation in the development of Indian civilisation.

The next "Language-Culture" group which came to India is believed to be the Dravidian. There is strong reason to think that the original Dravidian speakers came to India from the East Mediterranean region, from Asia Minor, and they were mainly a people of the Mediterranean race, mingled with other racial elements like the Armenoid which came with them — all of these apparently united by a common speech. Elements of religion and civilisation these Primitive Dravidian speakers of Mediterranean origin brought with them into India probably before 3500 B.C.; and groups of them were settled in Mesopotamia and Persia — Iraq and Iran — before they became established in India. They were a highly advanced people, and the city civilisation of India, as opposed to the village culture which was the creation of the Austrics (Kols, Mon-Khmers), was their great contribution. The pre-Aryan people of the Panjab and Sindh, known to the Aryan invaders as *Dāsa* and *Dasyu* and later as *S'ūdra*, who are believed to have built up the great city cultures like those of Harappa and Mohen-

jo-Daro, are now generally regarded as having been Dravidian in speech, religion, and social and political organisation. The Brahuis of Balochistan appear to be just a remnant of a Dravidian-speaking *bloc* in Sindh, South Panjab and Eastern Iran.

The Czechoslovak scholar B. Hrozny' has recently (*Histoire de l'Asie Anterieure, de l'Inde, et de la Crête*, Paris, 1947 : English translation, Prague, 1953) offered quite a new theory about the origin and early history of the people of Panjab and Sindh, who built up the recently discovered centres of culture like what we see at Mohen-jo-Daro, Harappa and other sites. He calls the builders of the Panjab and Sindh culture " Proto-Indians ", and he thinks that they were a branch of the Indo-European speaking " Hittites " of Asia Minor with admixture of local Asianic (non-Indo-European) elements, like the Caspian Subaraeo-Hurrites. This mixed " Proto-Indian " people, with its Indo-European language allied to Hittite, brought its religion and culture and elements of a hieroglyphical writing from Asia Minor, and built up the great pre-historic culture of Panjab and Sindh. The " Proto-Indians " flourished through trade with the Near East, but between 2000 to 1500 B.C., Dravidian-speakers from the north-west of India came down upon them and destroyed their culture and their towns. These Dravidian barbarians of unknown provenance, who had absorbed remnants of the " Proto-Indians ", were in possession of the country when between 1500-1200 B.C. equally rude semi-nomad Vedic Aryans came into the field and established themselves as conquerors over all the pre-Aryan populations. Hronzy's conclusions are based on the assumption that the Sindh-Panjab script and its language can be explained by the hieroglyphic Hittite script of Asia Minor and the Indo-European speech of the " Nesian " Hittites. All these assumptions are highly speculative, and some of the linguistic and cultural interpretations of Hronzy' (his greatness as an investigator in having deciphered successfully the ancient Hittite script

and read the language correctly being always admitted) seem not to be warranted by the actual facts, linguistic and otherwise. The question of the "Proto-Indian" script, language, religion and culture, in spite of some very clever suggestions of Hrozny', in which he has intimately linked it up with the Asianic linguistic, epigraphical and cultural background, still remains an open one.

Dravidian-speakers spread all over India, and they appear to have lived side by side with the Austric speakers in the great river-valleys of North India from Panjab to East Bengal and Assam, and with the Mongoloids also in the sub-Himalayan tracts. But they were able to make their language and culture paramount throughout the whole of Central India and India to the South of the Vindhya mountains, many centuries before the Christian era — although the Dravidian speech retreated here also before the Aryan in post-Christian times. Place-names of non-Aryan origin all over Northern India, where they are capable of analysis, suggest Dravidian and Austric as well as Sino-Tibetan elements, which are indicative of the presence of speakers of these languages in the land. But *the Dravidian is the most important of the non-Aryan elements in the civilisation of India ; and the basic culture of India is certainly over 50% Dravidian, although expressed in the main through the Aryan language.*—(Italics ours —ED.)

Finally, we have the Indo-Aryans. The Indo-Aryans — *Āryas*, as they called themselves — were a section of the great Indo-Iranian (or *Aryan*, in this specialised sense) branch of the Indo-European speakers who became a powerful force and leaven in the civilisation of the Middle and the Near East and of Europe from about 2000 B.C. The original Indo-Europeans, according to W. Brandenstein, the most significant recent investigator on the subject (1936), were characterised in the dry highlands to the south of the Ural mountains, probably before 3000 B.C.

Groups of them went west, and in the moist lands of what is now Poland, developed the second phase of their culture which was the one which passed on further west into Eastern and Central, Northern and Western, and also Southern Europe. In all those lands the original Indo-European speech and civilisation were transformed into those of the Balts and the Slavs, the Celts and the Germans, and the Italians, Illyrians and Hellenes. There were earlier or older branches of Indo-Europeans, like the Hittites (Nesian-Hittites) of Asia Minor, who are now believed by the most recent linguistic scholars, like the American E. H. Sturtevant and others, to have parted company with the main body of the Indo-European people, long before the full characterisation of the Indo-European speech had taken place, as the immediate ancestor of Vedic Sanskrit, Old Iranian, Homeric Greek and other ancient Indo-European languages. This separation of the Hittites took place at a time when we can talk of a pre-Indo-European stage — a stage which has been named "Indo-Hittite", which was the source of primitive Indo-European on the one hand, and of the ancient Hittite on the other. Then there were the Tokharians, who were linguistically closely related to the Celts, the Germans, the Italians and the Hellenes of Europe, but who somehow found their way into Central Asia where they were in evidence from an unknown antiquity throughout the greater part of the first millennium A.D.

The Aryans (Indo-Iranians) are believed to have left the original Indo-Iranian homeland to the south of the Ural Mountains and to have come down, according to the two schools of opinion, either to Central Asia, or to the Caucasus regions and from there to Northern Mesopotamia. According to the former view, Central Asia to the north-east of Iran was the place where the primitive Indo-European language and culture were modified to Aryan or Indo-Iranian; and from this *nidus,* the Iranians spread to the south-west, and the Indo-Aryans to the south-east into

India. According to the second view, Indo-European tribes which were being modified into Aryan or proto-Indo-Iranian, were first noticed in Northern Mesopotamia, and there they sojourned for some centuries before they trekked further south into Mesopotamia proper. There they took part in local affairs and formed ruling aristocracies in some states, developing their religion and culture by contact with local peoples (particularly the Asianic races to their west, and the Assyrio-Babylonians) and modifying their language to a stage when it became the immediate source-speech for both Iranian and Indo-Aryan. The Aryans left traces of their presence in the records of the local peoples in Mesopotamia and Eastern Asia Minor which have now been unearthed and read, and these records give names and words in the Aryan language representing a pre-Vedic and pre-Avestan form of the speech. Some of their tribes pushed on to the east and settled in Iran, and others went further to the east, and through Eastern Iran they found themselves into India; and here we meet with them first, as Vedic Aryans.

The Aryan-speakers from the lands of the Middle East represented in the main a tall, fair, blond, blue-eyed, straight-nosed, waivy-haired and long-headed people — the Nordics; but scholars have also expressed the view that they included a shorter and round-headed people among them — the Alpines, whom they appear to have absorbed linguistically rather than by blood-fusion. Two distinct ethnic groups are thus noticed among the Aryan-speakers who came into India *after* 1500 B.C. The language they brought became an instrument of the greatest power in the setting up of Indian civilisation. It was the Vedic language, the Old Indo-Aryan speech, which later on as Sanskrit was transformed into one of the greatest languages of civilisation in which the composite culture of ancient India found its most natural vehicle.

We have thus (not taking note of the all but extinct Negroid elements, and other possible languages with their

connected cultures now long extinct) these four great speeches and the culture-worlds of which they were the expressions, which came into contact, conflict and compromise with each other in ancient India, when the ancient Indian or Hindu people was being formed, between about 1500 to 1000 B.C. According to F. W. Thomas (*Indianism and its Expansion*, University of Calcutta, 1942, p. 7), it was **"the Vedic or Aryan period which witnessed the creation of the Indian Man."**

The Indian Man was created out of a fusion of these four chief elements of ingredients which were operative in Northern India—the Austric or Austro-Asiatic, the Mongoloid or Sino-Tibetan, the Dravidian, and the Aryan : to give their Indian names, names ancient as well as modern, respectively, the *Niṣādas* (or Nāga-Bhilla-Kollas), the *Kirātas*, the *Drāviḍas* (earlier the Dāsa-Dasyus and the S'ūdras), and the *Āryas*.

So far, we know only of these four " language-culture " groups—loosely speaking, four " races ". As it has been stated before, and as this might be reiterated once again, there might have been other similar " language-culture " groups as well. In fact, some scholars are suspecting the existence of one such—a fifth—group, of unknown linguistic affiliation, the influence of which as a substratum is dimly perceived below the surface of Dravidian and Austric as well as Aryan. We have to note the presence of the problem language spoken in the north-west of Kashmir, in the state of Hunza-Nagyr, viz. Burushaski or Khajuna, current among some 26,000 people. This language has been sought to be connected with Austric (Kol) on one hand, and with the Caucasic speech family on the other. It will be quite in the nature of things to imagine that three or four thousand years ago, the area of the source-speech of Burushaski, whatever it was, did actually include Kashmir, North-western Frontier Province, Panjab and Sindh ; the unexplained element in the present day Indian languages

may then be linked up with some speeches allied to Burushaski. But future research alone will be able to establish it, and to give clear explanations to certain unsolved problems in the linguistics of Aryan, Dravidian as well as Austric.

A reference may incidentally be made to the theory put forward by the late P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar (in his *Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras*, Madras 1912) that there was no Aryan invasion of India at all with an appreciable disturbance of the original population which consisted of the Dravidians and other non-Aryans, and that the Aryan language and the Aryan fire-cult came into India from Iran as a culture-drift as the result of culture contacts between the Indians, essentially of Dravidian origin, and Aryans in Iran. According to this view, "the Aryan invasion of India is a theory invented to account for the existence of an Indo-Germanic language in North India." But there are other facts and evidences direct and indirect to show that there was actually a considerable movement of people in ancient times, and the invasions by the Dravidian and Aryan speakers were just some of the most far-reaching among these movements.

The Indian Synthesis now presents a remarkable consistence, in which diverse elements have been combined to give the general impression of a remarkable homogeneity. A certain unique cohesion has been given to it by a Philosophy which rises above the contradictory elements which have been sought to be accommodated to each other. The persistent efforts of the best intellects of the country for all these 3000 years, from the time of "the creation of the Indian Man" at the end of the Vedic period, i.e., by 1000 B.C., to harmonise everything with this synthesis, has been most remarkably successful. All this has been within a certain theory or ideology regarding its component racial elements and its characteristic social and ethical adjustments which has been framed, bit by bit,

through generations of experience. This may not bear the scrutiny of a historical examination, any more than the cosmogony or "sacred history" of Judaism and Christianity and Islam, but this nevertheless has so far shown itself to be eminently logical as a philosophy and serviceable as an attitude, and to keep pace with the findings of modern science at the same time.

Comparison can be made of the formation of the people and its civilisation in India with that in Mexico, as it has been taking place there during the last four centuries. There are certain other countries which also show a similar mixture of peoples and cultures. Ancient Greece shows a most remarkable racial and cultural fusion between the pre-Indo-European and Mediterranean Aegean people (who created the great Pelasgian or Mycenean-Cretan-Trojan civilisation) and the incoming Hellenes (who brought their Indo-European Greek speech). This situation in Greece presents a most noteworthy parallel to the union of *Drāviḍa* and *Ārya* in India ; only, in India, there were at least three non-Aryan (or non-Indo-European) elements to the one of Greece. This parallel is particularly instructive and explanatory for the Indian racial and cultural miscegenation and synthesis too. Britain saw a fusion of the Mediterranean Iberian with the Indo-European Celt, and then this mixed population, Celtic-speaking, was overlaid by Germanic tribes, also of Indo-European speech. France is similarly Iberian, particularly in the south, Celtic, and Germanic (in the north), overlaid by mixed Italians (Romans)—the last three all speaking different forms of Indo-European. In Russia we have a Finno-Ugrian, an Altaic (Tartar) and a Slav (Indo-European) mixture, with Baltic and Scandanavian elements, the tone being given by the Russian language and social organisation. China shows admixture of only different branches of the same Mongoloid or Sino-Tibetan people, but South-East Asia (Further India, i.e., Burma, Siam and Viet-Nam, Kambuja and the Cham country) shows a com-

mingling of South Chinese, Thai and Tibeto-Burman as well as Karen and Miao-tzu and Man Mongoloids with Austro-Asiatics (Mons, Khmers, Chams and others). The Polynesians,* according to the most recent opinion of the Norwegian explorer Thor Heyerdahl, are a conglomeration of a white Caucasoid people from Peru, a yellow-brown Mongoloid people from the West Coast of British Columbia in Canada (who originally came from Eastern Asia by sailing along the coast of Japan and the Aleutian Islands), and a black Melanesian element from the west of Polynesia. The Japanese are mainly a mixture of Mongoloids (of the type of the Ainus and the Koreans) and Indonesians (Malays). In the northern tracts of West Africa a new people, the Fulbe or Pöl, has come into being through the mixture of the Hamitic tribes like the Tuaregs from the Sahara and the True Negroes of West Africa. These are all cases of racial miscegenation with attendant cultural and linguistic fusion which took place during periods of unrecorded history. Just before our eyes at the present day, a fusion of peoples on a large scale is taking place in America. In the United States through a commingling of elements from among the various groups of peoples in Europe, a new type of a Caucasoid pan-European Man is evolving, with a dash of the Mongoloid in him, both from Mongoloid elements from Europe and small assimilated Amerindian and Chinese and Japanese elements accepted in America. But this racial fusion in America is not comprehensive enough, because it totally eschews other races than the "white race"—Caucasoids of various types (whether Nordic or Alpine, Mediterranean or Dinaric, long-headed or middle-headed or short-headed) alone participating in this mixture.

The racial fusion that started in India with great vigour some 3500 years ago, after the advent of the Aryans, was wider in scope than anywhere else in the world, with the white, brown, black and yellow peoples, Āryas, Drāviḍas, Nishādas and Kirātas, all being included in it.

This kind of miscegenation, together with the admission into India of various other types of culture and religious outlook, has perhaps made **the average Indian more cosmopolitan in his physical and mental composition than a representative of any other nation.** Thus, our great heritage, the Aryan speech, together with the Nordic and other Western elements in our population, particularly the mentality that is behind our Aryan speech, is our great link with Indo-European-speaking Europe and America. Our Dravidian elements are another link with the basic culture and people of the Near East and the Mediterranean area ; and the Austric bases of our people and culture have intimate connexions with South-Eastern Asia, Indonesia and beyond. Through our Kirāta or Mongoloid background in Northern and North-Eastern India, we are not only neighbours but also kinsmen of the peoples of the Far East and of Central Asia. Finally, through Indian Islam, which has been a potent leaven in our civilisation for the last 750 years, we have more than a mere contact with the Arab and other Islamic lands ; and during the last 300 years we have absorbed racial and cultural elements from modern Europe as well : the Luso-Indians, Anglo-Indians and other Indians of Eurasian origin, with the different forms of Christianity which they profess, represent this latest phase of the Indian people.

I shall now discuss in brief **the character and result of this racial and cultural miscegenation, under the three heads of (I) Blood, (II) Speeeh, and (III) Culture, including Religion.**

The subject is very vast, and whole books can be written on each of the three aspects of it. I propose to give some of the main arguments under each head. The position is generally being admitted, but a formal statement appears to me to be needed at this juncture, if only to take stock of the situation.

I. BLOOD OR RACIAL FUSION AMONG ARYAN AND NON-ARYAN

Taking certain extreme Indian types (where there has not been much mixing with other peoples) apart, like pure-blooded Kashmiri Brāhmans, Mongoloids like the Garos and Nagas, and Austrics like Santals, we may say that **a Common Indian type, a Common Indian Man, has evolved on the soil of India through intermixture of the races, particularly on the vast plains of the country.** Dressed in the same kind of garb and bereft of distinguishing marks like special ways of doing the hair, beard, moustache etc., and special distinctive paraphernalia like caste-marks, etc.. the average Indian type, whether in the upper classes or in the middle or lower, will be ordinarily difficult to locate in a particular area. A typical Mongoloid like a Naga from Assam, or a Gurung or Lepcha from the Himalayan areas, is different from a Panjab, Rajput or a South Indian tribesman like a Chenchu or a Kadir. But an ordinary middle-class Indian, whether Brāhman or S'ūdra, Hindu or Muslim, may be from any province, and there is no mistake about his Indianness. Representation in art from the third century B.C. shows the presence of this Indian type as an accomplished fact on the soil of India for the last 2500 years : and doubtless this type goes back 500 or over 1000 years earlier. The Common Indian Man is ordinarily a brown man, pale or dark, either individually or in groups ; he is not pure white as the Aryan was, or pure yellow like the Kirāta or black like the Nishāda. Although broadly he can be classified as long or middle or short-headed, straight or broad or flat-nosed, a general family likeness which marks him off from neighbouring peoples—Iranians or Burmese, Malays or Arabs—is discernible among the ordinary run of Indians, if he does not in his physical make-up go to any of the extremes.

This is largely the result of racial mixture which was most thorough in Northern India ever since the Aryans

came into the country, and even before that. No part of India, however, was free from this racial admixture. Constant streams of North Indian Hindus, after the formation of the Hindu people, were going to the extreme east, to the Brahmaputra Valley, and Manipur, and even beyond, carrying Brahmanical civilisation with them. They were going to the Deccan and South India, as Brāhmans and Kshatriyas, as merchants and settlers, as soldiers and adventurers, and were merging into the Dravidian-speaking peoples in the more advanced areas. We may note the Nambudri Brāhman leaven among the Nayars of Malabar as typical. In this way North and South, and East and West in India were brought together by racial fusion. The "Indian Man" also pushed beyond the frontiers of India, by both land and sea—into Burma, and Siam, and Cambodia and Champa, into Malaya and Indonesia in the east and south-east, into Ceylon in the south, into Afghanistan (Ariana) in the west, and into Khotan (Kustana) in the north, carrying his composite culture and his language, Sanskrit and the Prakrits, and some times Telugu and Tamil, with him. But that is a different story.

The Aryans were a fair-skinned people, and judging from the description of the physical features of the Brāhmans as the representative Aryans by even so late an author as Patanjali of the second century B.C., they were a tall, fair, blond people approximating to, if not identical with, the Nordic type. Colour prejudice was not so strong in those days, although it did exist ; and after the Aryans found that they had to stay among the dark-skinned non-Aryans, a great deal of the edge of the feeling against colour wore off, particularly when it was found that the sedentary agricultural non-Aryans boasted of a higher material culture than the semi-nomad Aryans.

As a pre-requisite to racial fusion, there must be first, linguistic assimilation: mingling of blood by marriage can only take place on a large scale **when people of diverse**

origin accept one common language and conform to the culture-type of which that language is the expression. The Aryan's language supplied this need for a common speech to the Drāviḍa, Nishāda and Kirāta ; and the want of linguistic unity or cohesion among the non-Aryan peoples of ancient India gave to the language of the Aryan its great opportunity, apart from its prestige as the language of a puissant *Conquistador* and from the inherent strength, expressiveness and beauty of the language itself.

The names of the non-Aryan tribes, *Dāsa, Dasyu* and *S'ūdra,* who were all of them Dravidian in speech, and their semantic developments in Sanskrit indicate the hostile and contemptuous sentiments of the first Aryans towards them. The word *S'ūdra,* as we can see from the Mahābhārata and other works, became synonymous with *Dāsa* and *Dāsyu* in the Aryan's language, in post-Vedic times. The word *Dāsa,* originally a tribal name, corresponding to the related or exactly the same tribe in Iran, latterly known there as the *Dahai* (in Greek writings), came to signify "slave" in Sanskrit : we can note a similar change in meaning of the tribal name *Slav* (< "slave") in Europe. *Dasyu,* similarly, took up the meaning of a "robber" ; the same tribe evidently was present in Iran, known to the Iranians as *Dahyu,* and this name later appears to have given a common Iranian word to mean "country, land, country-side" (Old Persian *dahyu,* New Persian *deh* or *dih*). And *S'ūdra,* originally the name of a *tribe* living in Southern Panjab, who were observed by the Greeks and whose name was recorded by them, came to indicate the lower orders of an Aryan-dominated society—men and women of the S'ūdra *caste.* From the prescriptions in the later Dharma-S'āstras or Smriti works in Sanskrit, and from statements as well as references to incidents in the post-Vedic Brāhmaṇa literature and the Mahābhārata and the older Purāṇas, which either describe contemporary conditions or reflect the state of things for some centuries from

the late Vedic period onwards (roughly, during the first half of the first millennium B.C.), it would appear that inter-racial, that is, Aryan-non-Aryan marriages and connexions were far too common to be ignored. Of course Aryan orthodoxy, as an expression of the zeal for preserving their blood pure, which we find in a conquering people, with pride of race and sense of physical beauty, did not approve of these inter-racial marriages and connexions.

In an uncritical age, people were not very careful about tribal names, and the name of a particular tribe or small group could be extended to an entire "language-culture" group, or even loosely to all peoples of a different race or language who were contacted. Thus in Sanskrit and Prakrit *Yavana* and *Yona* (coming ultimately from the seventh century B.C. Greek form *Iavones*, later *Iaones* and then contracted to *Iones*, through Semitic and Old Persian forms like *Yawan* and *Yauna-*) first meant in India just the Greek people, and then within a few centuries the name was extended to mean any Western Foreigner. and finally, any non-Indian or non-Hindu Outsider, latterly even Indian Musalmans.

It would appear that all non-Aryans within the framework of the Aryan (Brāhman)-dominated society which was being developed, a society in which the Aryans, as the masterful, though materially not so much advanced *Conquistadores,* assumed special privileges, were at first given the general name of *S'ūdras*, and were relegated to an inferior position with considerable disabilities. But wealthy S'ūdras and those of them who were artisans and craftsmen, and not merely tillers of the soil or followers of unclean trades, when they became Aryan-speakers, frequently got access within the group or caste of the Vaiśyas, or were given at least equality of status with them. Naturally, in a situation like this when the more ardent Aryans would try to preserve their racial purity, they could not

support or tolerate mixed unions. When such unions took place, the "superior" people might allow the creation of a *Mestizo* class by men of their own group taking to wife women of the inferior group ; and this was thought natural and proper (what was known in ancient India as *anuloma* marriage), but would resent if it happened the other way (*pratiloma* marriage).

But judging from direct and indirect references in early Sanskrit literature, although frowned upon or glossed over by the later writers including the writers on Dharma-S'āstras or Hindu social codes, these mixed marriages, both *anuloma* and *pratiloma*, appear to have been exceedingly common, e.g., during the late Vedic and pre-Buddhic times, as depicted, for instance, in the Mahābhārata. I need not mention marriages, both *anuloma* and *pratiloma*, among the three avowedly *Dvija*, i.e. "twice-born" or Aryan castes : these were quite permissible. But even a S'ūdra marrying an Aryan woman, Brāhman or Kshatriya or Vaiśya, was evidently no uncommon thing. The off-spring of all such unions were recognised in both the earlier and the later law-books, the *Dharma-sūtras* and *Dharma-S'āstras*, in an Aryanising society, although different degrees of high or low position was allotted to them.

We have a whole host of names of such "mixed castes" in the Mahābhārata and the Dharma-S'āstras and other works, noted with varying degrees of toleration or condemnation. These names have been classified and enumerated by MM. Dr. P. V. Kane (in his *History of Dharma-Sastra*, Vol. II, Part I, Poona 1941, pp. 69-103) and by Sailendra Nath Sen Gupta ("The Caste System in Bengal" in *Census 1951 : West Bengal : the Tribes and Castes of West Bengal*, edited by Asok Mitra, I.C.S., and published by the West Bengal Government, Calcutta 1953, pp. 47-58). In the slightly longer list given in the West Bengal Report for the 1951 Census, Sen Gupta enumerates as many as 209 names of mixed castes, and of non-Aryan

groups which at one time or other came to be connected with the Hindu body-politic and were looked upon either as castes due to miscegenation or as degraded Hindus—and of Aryan origin too, as they were considered to be outcasted from Aryan society in many cases. We may mention certain castes of mixed origin which were inter-racial (unlike, for example, mixed castes resulting from *anuloma* and *pratiloma* marriages among Brāhmans, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas, who were all thought to be of Aryan origin) : *Ugra* (Brāhman, Kshatriya or Vaiśya father+ S'ūdra mother) ; *Nāpita* or *Pāras'ava* (Brāhman or Kshatriya+S'ūdra mother) ; *Dāsa*, *Niṣāda* (Brāhman+S'ūdra) ; *Dauṣyanta, Mleccha, Gopāla* (Kshatriya+S'ūdra) ; *Karana, Rathakāra, Kaṭakāra, Sūcaka, Āyogava* (also=offspring of Vaiśya+Kshatriya, and S'ūdra+Vais'ya), *Taksan* (Vaiśya+S'ūdra) ; *Caṇḍāla, Sūlika* (S'ūdra+Brāhman) ; *Kṣattṛ, Carmakāra, Māgadha, Pulkasa, Yavana* (=Greek!), *Vaiṇa, Vaidehaka, Tantuvāya, Rañjaka, Sūlika* or *Sūṇika, Niṣāda, Vrātya* (S'ūdra+Kshatriya) ; *Antyāvasāyin, Āyogava, Māgadha, Pulkasa, Vaidehaka, Vaidya, Cakrin, Cākrika* (S'ūdra+Vaiśya). It would be seen that there is no unanimity and uniformity among ancient writers about these names. Doubtless, many of these names were confined to a part of the country only, and these were confused later by compilers of Dharma-S'āstras and other works in other parts of the country. Names were given to other groups which originated by further admixture among the mixed castes noted above : for example, *Āpita* (Brāhman + *Dauṣyanta* < Kshatriya+S'ūdra), *Āvṛta* (Brāhman+ *Ugra* < Brāhman, Kshatriya, or Vaiśya+S'ūdra) ; *Khanaka* (Āyogava+Kshatriya) ; *Udbandhaka* (*Khanaka* or *S'ūlika* +Kshatriya) ; *Kārāvara* (Vaidehaka+Nishāda, or Nishāda +Vaidehaka) ; *Kāṇḍāra* (Kaivarta, a S'ūdra, possibly Austric+Koca, North Bengal Tibeto-Burman Boḍo) ; *Kukunda* (*Māgadha*+S'ūdra) ; etc. etc. The list need not be increased, as full lists will be found in the works cited above.

We are at once presented with a parallel in post-Spanish Mexico, where there has been this kind of *anuloma* and *pratiloma* marriages among the three races found in America—the Amerindian Mongoloids (Aztec, Mixtec-Zapotec, Totonac, Otomi, Maya etc. etc.), the Spaniards or Hispanic Caucasoids, and the Negroes brought as slaves from Africa. Here are some characteristic names for these various mixed groups in Mexico and Latin America : thus, *Mestizo* (cross between Spanish father and Amerindian mother—*anuloma* caste most common) ; *Castizo* (Mestizo +Spanish woman) ; *Españolo* (Castizo+Spanish woman) ; *Mulatto* (Spanish+Negro woman) ; *Moro* or *Moor* (Mulatto+Spanish woman) ; *Albino* (Spaniard+Moor or Moorish woman) ; *Salta Atras* or 'Throwback' (Spaniard+ Albino woman) ; *Lobo* or 'Wolf' (Salta Atras+Amerindian woman) ; *Zambiago* (Lobo+Indian woman) ; *Cambujo* (Zambiago+Amerindian woman) ; *Alvarazado* (Cambujo +Mulatto woman) ; *Barquino* (Alvarazado+Mulatto woman) ; *Coyote* (Barquino+Mulatto woman) ; *Chamizo* (Coyote+Mulatto) ; *Coyote-Mestizo* (Chamizo+Mestizo woman) *Ahi-te-etãs* or "There-thou-art" (Coyote-Mestizo+Mulatto woman). (From Addison Burbank, "Mexican Frieze," New York 1940, p. 21). However, the common name for all with a dash of Spanish blood is *Mestizo*, i.e., Mixed (=French *mětis*), and among the Amerindian peoples in Mexico, the word *Ladino* is also employed. In English, following Spanish we have the words *Half-caste*, *Quadroon* (with one-fourth of a particular racial element, after inter-marriage in the second generation between a half-caste and a pure-blooded person of either race), then *Octroon* (with one-eighth blood, so to say, of one of the component races, when the individual is the offspring of a Quadroon and a pure-blooded person) ; and after an Octroon, the next generation virtually merges into the basic race.

In the Aryan society, the wife had the right of performing religious sacrifices with her husband : she was

his *sahadharmiṇī,* his peer and helpmate in sacred tasks. She could recite the Vedas. This was quite in order, so long as she was of the same Aryan race. Later on, when women of non-Aryan origin and of mixed origin came to be taken to wife by Brāhmans and others of pure Aryan blood, this right was then taken away from women. In later Dharma-śāstra prescriptions, we find that women in general as well as S'ūdras were not to utter the mystic syllable *Om,* and were not allowed to perform Vedic sacrifices. They could however, as a matter of right, perform the *pūjā* ceremonial excepting that of Vishṇu through the *S'ālagrāma* stone. Even when non-Aryan women came to have a place in the Aryans' social structure, they were thus debarred by orthodox opinion from the privileges of the Aryans ; and their Aryan sisters also shared their disability.

The Aryan, including the Brāhman, was losing, as the result of the climate, of altered ways of life and of miscegenation, his fair complexion. The Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad knows Aryans or Aryan-speakers, who were white (*s'ukla*), brown or tawny (*kapila*) and dark or black (*s'yāma*) and who studied the Vedas, and the last was the cleverest of the three, knowing all the three Vedas, while the others know only one or two. Although mixed unions were held in theoretical disfavour, under the lead of the priestly classes, no stigma was attached to them in practical life. In fact, inter-caste marriages, particularly after the formation of the mixed castes, were very common within the same economic or social group throughout Hindu history, right down to pre-British times. The *Sanātana* or "eternal", immutable nature of caste in Hindudom became an object of historic faith among Hindu *intelligentsia,* only during the last few hundred years.

Satyavatī or Matsya-gandhā, the mother of Vyāsa (who may be described as the official founder of Hinduism by compiling for it its scriptures, the Vedas and the pri-

mitive Purānas) was a Dāsa woman, although this was attempted to be explained away in the Mahābhārata itself by bringing in the wild story of Satyavatī having been really the daughter of Vasu Uparicara, born within the womb of a fish. Kṛishṇa Vāsudeva of the Vṛishṇi sect of the Yadu clan was a younger contemporary of Vyāsa, and he was himself a dark complexioned half-caste, his mother Devakī being a princess of an Asura or non-Aryan house and his father Vasudeva was an Aryan Kshatriya. It was Kṛishṇa who, among other things, helped to form a synthesis of the Aryan and non-Aryan thought-worlds, religion and ritualism. (Following F. E. Pargiter, Hem Chandra Ray Chaudhuri and L. D. Barnett, who based their datation respectively on Purāṇa traditions, on genealogical data in the Brāhmaṇa texts and on Jaina tradition exclusively, I accept the middle of the 10th century B.C., during the late Vedic age, as the time for the Kurukshetra battle forming the historical kernel of the Mahābhārata epic, and consequently as the period for the *floruit* of Vyāsa and Kṛishṇa).

It has also been suggested that Buddha himself, like most of the Gorkhas and other present-day peoples of Nepal, was of mixed Aryan-Mongoloid, or it may be Aryanised Mongoloid origin. Certain social usages among the branch of the S'ākya clan, to which Buddha belonged, would suggest non-Aryan (Kirāta) origins, affinities or connexions.

The process of Aryanising non-Aryan ruling houses by the extension of Kshatriya-hood upon them by the Brāhmans as the leaders of society, has been an age-old device in India, which enabled not only the militarily and culturally advanced aristocracy of non-Aryan origin, but also powerful foreign groups like the Greeks, the S'akas and other Iranians and the Hūns settled in India, to be absorbed within the fold of the Hindu society. This has been noted by other scholars before. We have the ancient

Indian solar and lunar dynasties — the Children of the Sun and the Children of the Moon (*Sūrya-Vams'a* and *Candra-Vams'a*). It is exceedingly likely that here basically we have a pre-Aryan, possibly Dravidian notion, which became a part of the inherited and re-edited Purāṇa tradition that developed among the Aryan-speaking people of mixed origin during the early centuries of the first millennium B.C. Later, when some powerful Hinduised aristocracies of Turki and Iranian origin were to be absorbed during the second half of the first millennium A.D., we have the new Kshatriya clans of the Children of the Fire (*Agni-kula*). The Ahoms, a Thai or Sino-Siamese people who came to Assam in 1228 and gradually extended their power over the Hinduised Tibeto-Burhman Boḍos of the Brahmaputra valley, were adopted within the Brahmanical fold, and their rulers were described as the Children of Indra (*Indra-Vams'a*). The Boḍo royal house of Dimāpur and Kachar were made into descendents of Bhīma, the Pāṇḍava hero, through his Rākshasī or non-Aryan wife Hiḍimbā ; and the Meithei kings and upper classes of Manipur, as well as the Boḍo (Tipra) rulers of Tripurā, at some unknown mediaeval period, obtained the status of *Candra-Vams'a* Kshatriyas. Even the native priesthood of the non-Aryan tribes, on their Hinduisation came to acquire the sobriquet of *Varṇa-Brāhmaṇas,* i.e., Brāhmans attached to the particular Hindu caste into which the tribe was transformed. With the exaltation of the general status of the tribe, the recognition of these Varṇa-Brahmans as proper Brāhmans was a matter of course.

It was not that there was an absolute wholesale or all-embracing misbegenation. Doubtless a great many Aryan groups jealously guarded their purity of blood and they have succeeded through the endogamous caste system in preserving in many cases some sort of racial purity. But once the terms *Ārya* and *Brāhmaṇa* modified their old racial connotation, and became words indicative of an aristocracy of moral or intellectual superiority without the

old sense of racialism, such as we find in the Rig-Vedic terms *Ārya Varṇa* and *Dāsa Varṇa,* admission as Brāhmans and Kshatriyas of the intellectual and aristocratic classes of mixed groups and of pure non-Aryans was facilitated, and objection to their union with pure-blooded Aryans within the same area, when the economic and cultural background was the same, became weaker and weaker.

The new Aryan-speaking society could no longer remain compartmental, vertically or horizontally or in both ways. With a wide gamut or range of colours in the people, ranging from the white of the Aryan blond to the black colour of the pure Nishāda, or the yellow of the pure Kirāta, like the merging colours in the solar prism, passing on imperceptibly from violet through indigo, blue, green, yellow and orange to red, *apartheid* was not possible in practical life, howsoever the *theory* might have appealed to the Aryanising snobdom which was exalted in certain groups to an orthodoxy of faith. We find almost an identical situation in Mestizo Mexico. From the pure Spanish descendents of the conquerors and subsequent settlers who are known as Creols (*los Criollos*), which continued to be reinforced by fresh arrivals from Spain (latterly known as the *Gachupines*), during the three centuries of Spanish colonial rule (1521-1820), we have, through different shadings of white and yellow and brown resulting from all kinds and degrees of intermixture, the brown or yellow Amerindian masses at the other end of the scale, the pure 'Indians' (*los Indios*). An ever-expanding mixed group is perpetually encroaching upon the purity of the pure whites at the top and the yellow or brown Indians' at the bottom. Already the mixed group, with Spanish as their language, forms nearly 60 p.c. of the people of Mexico, with some 30 p.c. pure Amerindians and less than 10 p.c. pure whites. Ultimately the purer groups will be absorbed into the Mestizos, leaving a single type of man, generally speaking, master of the field—the

Modern Mexican Man who is already in the predominance. In 1805, the pure Spanish or white element in Mexico's population was estimated at 18 p.c., Mestizos at 30 p.c. and pure Amerindians at 44 p.c., and other groups 2 p.c.; in 1910, the percentages were respectively, 7.5, 53 and 39. These figures disclose how the pure Amerindian element and pure white are both merging into the Mestizo.

Varṇa or skin-colour — white or yellow or brown or black — was the basis of the division of the diverse types of humanity in the first period when Ārya and Dāsa, Kirāta and Nishāda, stood face to face with each other. Later, it became unmeaning with the invasion of the coloured elements into Aryandom, although tradition harking back to these very early times is still suspicious in present-day India of a black Brāhman and a fair S'ūdra. The skin-colour became irrelevant with racial mixture, and there was a new theory of caste in which the original realistic notion of the Vedic Aryan was lost; and **it was only birth within a recognised profession or industry or trade group, within a guild, so to say, that formed the essential argument for caste. The economic aspect rose superior to the racial, the social to the biological. Caste has been supported or tolerated by the Indian people as it generally helped the stability of their economic existence, all racial implications being lost.**

Caste began to crystallise and become rigid with the establishment of a Muslim state by the Turks, and then by the adoption of the Turki-Muslim traditions by Indian Muslims either of pure Indian or mixed Indian origin (respectively through conversion and miscegenation). The Hindu States were destroyed and the Hindu social order under Brāhman domination lost its natural patrons in the Hindu aristocracy. Yet Hindu culture was too strongly ingrained in the people to permit their being swept away by the flood of Muslim aggression. With its inherent force of inertia and its spirit of bowing before the storm, and with the innate spirit of harmony among the various castes each with its recognised place, its rights and duties

within the Hindu society which was evolved as the direct result of the Indian synthesis under the leadership of the Brāhman, the Hindu body-politic resisted the threatened disintegration of itself through this Muslim impact by its method of a general non-co-operation. This non-co-operation was of a passive sort, and it meant having nothing to do socially with that unappreciative and unsympathetic foreign ruler, the Turki Muslim, and sometimes his client the *renoncant* Indian Muslim, and each caste unit in Hindu society offered opposition in a piecemeal fashion by stiffening itself up in self-defence and by becoming more rigid within itself. This stiffening up and rigidity, and this non-co-operation, became a force not only against the foreigner, but also *vis-à-vis* the other groups or castes within its own world. With the passing of centuries this rigidity grew stronger and stronger ; and during the last two centuries, certain other new factors came in — which strengthened the present-day caste ideology which would regard miscegenation to be pernicious and reprehensible in a divinely ordained social order — the *Varṇās'rama Dharma* — which existed from the beginning of the golden age. The new factors which were operative in this direction were the growth of individualism in the place of collectivism ; the tendency to a new type of economic exploitation ; a new sense of aloofness taking its root from imperfect or incomplete miscegenation fortified by the imported European "Aryanism" ; and a revival of orthodox notions and attendant snobbery with fantastic or extravagant ideas of personal purity and caste pride, the exaggerations of which would be patent in any sensible society.

Ancient Indians have been reproached with the absence of the historical sense. They had certainly a conception of life as a static thing, not as a process of dynamic or historical development.. The racial and national aspect can never be dissociated from the history of the political vicissitudes of any people, and if in ancient India

the writing of the history of a particular people, as a distinct element of the population, had developed, then the tendency towards the fusion and harmonisation of the traditions of the diverse peoples, not on a basis of a separatist political consciousness, but on an appreciation of the universal human values, would not have characterised the Indian Synthesis. Thus the Muslim historians of India in general are conscious only of a two-fold division of the people of India, by religion — Muslims and Hindus, and this religious cleavage was always perpetuated, without any attempt at bringing them together as members of the same people. In the earliest Indian literature we have just echoes of an Ārya *versus* Dāsa (or S'ūdra or Nāga or Nishāda) complex, on a racial or colour basis. But the racial aspect of it grew dimmer and dimmer as the inevitable result of a mutual assimilation, and these tribal names were translated into the region of mythology. The intransigence of racialism was totally lost, and a crude pride of birth through race gave place to a sense of humility through philosophy when the idea of *samsāra* as an eternal moral law determining a man's place in life came to be universally accepted. After the strands of diverse racial origins have been inextricably woven into the finished stuff of a composite Indian society, it is now at least 2500 years too late to try to revive them once again now, as an engineered upsurge, e.g., of a suppressed Ādi-Drāviḍa or primitive Dravidian in the extreme south of India against the so-called Aryan from the north. It would be as futile as to try to separate the Saxon from the Norman or the Celt from the German or the basic Iberian from the Indo-European in the composition of the present-day British people.

There is no caste in *sannyāsa* or the path of renunciation — in Indian monasticism, so to say. This is another expression of the racial synthesis in Indian ideology. The Upanishadic *Jñāna* or knowledge, and later the post-Vedic mysticism of love and faith — *Bhakti,* both moving

with the self-discipline of *Yoga* or path for union with the Ultimate Reality, *Jñāna* and *Bhakti* as the philosophical and emotional obverse and reverse of the quest for God, both transcended racial implications.

Racial and Cultural Fusion, profound or on the surface, sublimated by a broad spirit of Synthesis through Philosophy which transcended or modified, although it could not wholly eradicate, the memory of race and colour (the weaknesses and prejudices of human nature being what they are), thus **has given the basic character or tone to Indian Civilisation**. As Rabindranath Tagore, with his poet's vision colouring the scholar's reading of the predominant trait of his people's history and culture, has expressed in his great poem in Bengali, the *Bhārata-tīrtha* —

hethāy Āryya, hethā Anāryya, hethāy Drāviḍa, Cīn,
S'aka-Hūṇa-dal, Pāṭhān-Mogal, ek dehe ha'la līn :

" Here the Aryan, here the Non-Aryan, here the Dravidian and the Chinese (the Mongoloids), the tribes of the Scythians and the Huns, the Afghans and the Moguls, have all merged into one body."

II. LINGUISTIC INTERACTION AND THE EVOLUTION OF AN " INDIAN CHARACTER " IN THE LANGUAGES OF INDIA

At the present moment, as has been mentioned before, we see four distinct speech-families represented in India, languages belonging to which have all evolved or developed on the soil of India for the last 3000 years and more. These are (i) Indo-European, (ii) Dravidian, (iii) Austric, and (iv) Sino-Tibetan. **The language** of the first inhabitants of India, **the Negroids,** has not survived on the soil of India—it is found in the Andamans, and it is not fully known. There is no possibility of finding out if elements from the speech of the Negroids has, in any way, survived

in the speeches of the later peoples who came to India. I have suggested that among a possible small vocabulary from the Negroid speech which may have been continued in Indian languages, we may reckon the Bengali word for the " bat ", *bāduḍ*, which is based on a form like *wat*, *wad* etc. (with the pleonastic affix *-uḍ* from early Bengali *-a-ḍī—bāduḍ* < *bād-a-ḍī*), found in Andamanese and the dialects of Austro-Asiatic current among the Negroid Semang and the Austric Sakai in Malaya.

The Austric languages as we have seen, fall into two groups—(i) Austro-Asiatic, and (ii) Austronesian. The Austric languages of India, which come under (i), are distinct in their structure from Dravidian : they are prefix, suffix and infix adding languages, and have an elaborate process of word-formation. Austric-speaking tribes had in pre-historic times spread throughout India, and in the great river-valleys of North India they appear to have been transformed into the present-day Aryan-speaking masses of Indians. both Hindu and Muslim, with admixture with other ethnic groups, the Mongoloids and the Dravidians and the Aryans. Some Austric speakers in India, who continued to live from very ancient times in a primitive state in the hills and forests of Central and Eastern India, or who had retired there through pressure of the later peoples, live in their descendents as the various Kol peoples, Santals and others, as mentioned above, still retaining their language. Others in the sub-Himalayan tracts were absorbed by the later Mongoloid settlers, but the language of the Austro-Asiatic Kols has modified that of the newcomers, giving rise to what are known as " Pronominalised Tibeto-Burman Speeches," of the sub-Himalayan areas in Nepal and to its west. In Assam, the Khasis appear to be a Tibeto-Burman people who have accepted an Austric language.

In the development of the Aryan language in India, Austric (Kol or Munda, and Mon-Khmer) languages have

exerted a considerable influence, particularly in vocabulary and idiom. The study of mutual Aryan and Austric influencing in language has become an important branch of Indian linguistics, with repercussions on the history of the development of culture in India. The French orientalist Jean Przyluski made valuable investigations into the question of an Austric substratum in Indo-Aryan, and he has shown how a number of common words in Sanskrit like *kārpāsa, tāmbula, kadalī, kambala, bāṇa, lāṅgala, lakuṭa* etc. etc. are of Austric origin. Others have followed Przyluski along the line of research virtually opened up by him, and a notable work in this field is F.B.J. Kuiper's "Proto-Munda Words in Sanskrit" (Amsterdam, 1948, pp. 178 ; the author gives an additional seventy words from Sanskrit as being Austric in origin).

In the evolution of at least two modern Indo-Aryan sister-speeches in Bihar, the Maithili and the Magahi, there has been a very likely influence of the Austric (Kol) languages, which evidently were suppressed by the Aryan Māgadhī Prakrit and Apabhramsa, in the peculiar device of pronoun-incorporation in the verb, which is so foreign to the nature of both Aryan and Dravidian.

In the matter of a richness in onomatopoetic jingles and expressions which Indo-Aryan is found to develop gradually in the course of its evolution (such onomatopoetic terms are too few in Sanskrit, but they are on the increase in the Prakrits, and still more so in the New Indo-Aryan languages), and in that of doubling of words, full or partial, for various purposes, noted partly in Middle Indo-Aryan (Pali and the Prakrits) and very largely in New Indo-Aryan, we are certainly to see a Kol or Austric substratum in Indo-Aryan : and this substratum is very vital, too, for New Indo-Aryan.

The Sino-Tibetan languages and dialects present in their number the largest groups of speeches in India, but from the point of view of the numerical strength of the

peoples speaking them, their cultural significance as well as the extent of their terrain. they are the least important. But of course they have their great value in the historical and comparative study of the great languages of the family, like Chinese, Tibetan, Burmese and Siamese. These Sino-Tibetan speeches current among the Kirātas, or Indian Mongoloid tribes, are now confined to Assam, and East and North Bengal, and the south Himalayan slopes from Bhotan to Panjab, including of course Nepal. But in early times there is evidence that the Kirāta peoples had penetrated into Central India and Sindh also, though numerically they were not so strong in the plains of Northern India and the hills and jungles of Central India.

Kirāta peoples in India are certainly as old as, if not older than, the Vedic Aryans : we find them already mentioned in the Yajur and Atharva Vedas. (Their antecedents and their participation in the development of Indian history and culture I have discussed in my "*Kirāta-Jana-Kṛti* : the Indo Mongoloids and their Contribution to the History and Culture of India", Asiatic Society, Calcutta 1951, pp. 94.) They could not exert such a widespread influence in the development of Indian culture, and their contribution to the formation of the Indian people was restricted by their geographical position or the lands which they occupied. Kirāta predominance is the most noteworthy thing in the people and culture of the greater part of Himalayan India, of Assam, and of East and North Bengal and North Bihar.

The subject of the modification of the Aryan speech by the Kirāta dialects has not been taken up properly, but it is very likely that a respectable Kirāta vocabulary exists in Indo-Aryan place-names, and ordinary words, and there are Kirāta influences in some present-day Aryan speech-habits also. The toponomy of Eastern and Himalayan India is largely Sino-Tibetan in origin. Assamese and Nepali (Parbatiya, or Khaskura) show Tibeto-Burman

elements in their vocabulary. The habit of using too frequently the verbal conjunctive participle may very well be due to Sino-Tibetan influence on Indo-Aryan, although a similar syntactical character is found in Dravidian. The dental pronunciation of *c, j, ch, jh,* as *ts, dz, s, z,* etc. in the Himalayan Aryan speeches, in East Bengali and in Assamese, also is, in all likelihood, the result of the influence of a Sino-Tibetan substratum ; and the substitution of the dentals and the cerebrals by alveolar stops and aspirates in Assamese and in a number of other Aryan speeches in the Himalayan regions can also be connected with Tibeto-Burman.

We now come to **the Dravidian speech family in India, and its inter action with Indo-Aryan.** Anthropological, ethnological and cultural as well as religious considerations have all suggested that the proto-Dravidians of India were an Asianic and East Mediterranean people. We may regard the pre-Aryan builders of the Sindh and Panjab culture as being of Dravidian speech. The proximity of the Dravidian-speaking Brahuis to Sindh and Panjab lends some support to the view that Dravidian was the speech of the entire North-West, when the Aryans first entered India round about 1500 B.C.

There are also unsolved problems in connexion with the etymology of quite a number of Indo-Aryan words and locutions which may be connected with substrata of other lost pre-Aryan origin. But in the broad lines of the development of Indo-Aryan in the course of over two millennia, we see a tremendous influence of Dravidian, and partly of Austric (Kol). The nature of this influence is not superficial or just literary, but it is that of a substratum, profound and at the same time wide in scope. **There has been through some 3,000 years a gradual approximation of the Aryan speech towards the Dravidian, in its system of sounds, in its trend in morphology, in vocabulary, and above all, in its syntax or order of words.**

The original character of the Indo-European language has been very largely preserved in Vedic Sanskrit, in Avestan and Old Persian, and in Homeric Greek; and some aspects of it can also be deduced from the other forms of Old Indo-European, like Latin and the Italic speeches, Old Irish, Gothic and other Old Germanic, Old Armenian, Baltic and Old Church Slav, as well as from Tokharian; and Nesian Hittite of Asia Minor has thrown unexpected light into the character of pre-historic Indo-European. Yet already in Vedic there are plentiful evidences of Indian non-Aryan influences, particularly in phonetics and in vocabulary: influences in syntax and morphology are as yet not so clear.

In Phonetics, the paucity of vowels in Vedic and Old Iranian (Indo-European *a*, *e*, *o* being all reduced to *a*) as contrasted with Greek, is a noteworthy thing. The Dravidian vowel system is also very simple: it has five simple vowels *a i u e o*, both long and short (*ē ō*, of course, originated in Indo-Aryan at a later post-Vedic stage from earlier *ai au*, and in Middle Indo-Aryan short *e o* also developed). The quantity of vowels in Indo-Aryan, originally based on individual etymology, now became subservient to speech-rhythm. New way of emphasis e.g. by consonantal doubling also came in.

The Indo-European aspirated stops, voiced and unvoiced, were retained in Vedic. It is quite conceivable, as Jules Bloch thought, that Primitive Dravidian possessed aspirated stops; and some at least of the modern Kol speeches like Santali also show aspirates. Consequently, their retention in Indo-Aryan was helped by the non-Aryan background. In India, whatever spirant sounds the Aryan language, the immediate source of Vedic, possessed, were virtually all lost, excepting for three unvoiced sibilants *s′ ṣ s*, and the voiced aspirate *h*.

The most important change in the phonetic system of Indo-Aryan was its adoption of the retroflex or cerebral

sounds, *ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh ṇ ḷ ṣ*, beside the tongue-tip dentals *t th d dh* (*n l s*). Indo-European and Aryan did not have these, although the Scandinavian languages, Swedish and Norwegian, have developed them independently from earlier *r+t, r+d, r+n* in recent years. The Aryan speech in India may have similarly developed them independently. But the retroflex sounds are so very characteristic of the Dravidian languages that their admission and establishment in Indo-Aryan in the first instance might have been due to Dravidian speakers accepting the Aryan language. As the centuries pass, the retroflex pronunciation, either through the influence of *r* (and *l*), or spontaneously, is on the increase. These retroflex sounds are a point of remarkable agreement among the languages of the Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Austric (Kol) families in India : it is not known whether Austric had them independently, or took them up from Dravidian equally with Indo-Aryan. The distinction between the pure dentals and the retroflex sounds is a very prominent thing in the sound-system of the Indian languages—only the Sino-Tibetan languages do not have this distinction : they have a single set of alveolar sounds in place of the two sets of pure dentals and cerebrals.

Jules Bloch in a significant paper (English translation in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1919, pp. 191 ff.) suggested that Indo-Aryan and Dravidian showed a somewhat parallel phonological history, with consonant clusters both initially and medially, but initially these were simplified, and medially they were assimilated (e.g. *dr- pr-* became *d- p-*, *-rk- -tr-* became *-kk- -tt-*, both in Indo-Aryan Prakrit and in Old Dravidian languages as these developed out of their more ancient forms). Approximation to Dravidian tendencies or habits in sound-change may have been induced in Indo-Aryan by Dravidian. The widespread habit of anaptyxis (*svara-bhakti* or *vipra-karṣa*) in the treatment of Sanskrit loan-words in Prakrits presents a parallel to what we see in the cultivated Dravidian languages also.

In certain other matters relating to Morphology, Syntax and Vocabulary, Vedic Sanskrit stands apart from Classical Sanskrit, from Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit), and from New Indo-Aryan. The last three show a community of spirit which is not shared by Vedic. In Morphology, a matter of capital importance is the loss of the Old Indo-European *prepositions* in Indo-Aryan. In Vedic they still have their separate existence, retaining a good deal of their old function in governing nouns put in various cases (as much as in Greek, Latin, Gothic, Old Irish, Old Slav, etc.) ; the prepositions are movable, and have not yet become wholly *preverbials* (*upasargas*) glued to verb roots. The total loss took place of these prepositions when their original force was gone, and they became preverbials in Classical Sanskrit, and in Middle Indo-Aryan ; the prepositions becoming preverbials only survive in mutilated forms as integral parts of some verb roots in New Indo-Aryan, e.g. *pra* in *pra-vis'* > New Indo-Aryan *pais*, *ā* in *ā-vis'* > New Indo-Aryan *āis*, *upa-vis'* > *bais*, *upa-viṣṭa* > *baiṭh*, *ut-pāṭayati* > *upāḍe*, *ut-taraṭi* > *utare*, *ud-eti* > *ue*, *nir-vā* > *nibā*, *pari-īkṣ* > *parakh*, *sam-arp* > *saump*, *samp*, *vi-krī* > *bik*, *abhi-añj* > *bhij* ; etc., etc.

In place of the prepositions, for a time the case-inflexions sufficed to indicate the various case-relations, but as these began to change phonetically, a new device was taken recourse to. In this matter, the habits of both Dravidian and Austric (Kol) and also of Sino-Tibetan invaded Aryan. These languages indicate case-relations by means of *help-words* which are joined to the noun and pronoun at the end. These help-words, as they became established in Middle Indo-Aryan and in Classical Sanskrit, became through phonetic decay the *inflexions* and *post-positions* of New Indo-Aryan. Some verb-forms and full nouns are also found as post-positions in New Indo-Aryan. The Aryan language in this matter has completely been transformed according to the spirit of Dravidian.

The formation of the plural of the noun and the pronoun by agglutinating or adding a noun of multitude is another principle which has been naturalised in Indo-Aryan from the late Middle Indo-Aryan stage: e.g. the use of words like *sakala, kula, gaṇa, loka, sabhā, sarva, mānava*, etc. in their Old, Middle and New Indo-Aryan forms, which through phonetic decay have in some cases been transformed into what are virtually new affixes in New Indo-Aryan. Herein we see the work of an inherent principle of formation from Dravidian.

In most of the New Indo-Aryan languages we note, as in Dravidian, the absence of the affix for the dative-accusative case for neuter or inanimate nouns.

The use of the genitive case for the adjective is another Dravidian aspect in syntactical extension of the declension of the noun. The Indo-European speech indicated a comparison of the adjective by affixation: e.g. *-īyas, -iṣtha*; *-tara, -tama*, in Sanskrit. This habit is still preserved in English, e.g. *wiser, wisest*, from *wise*, and in Persian, *bih-tar, bih-tarīn*, from *bih* "good". But New Indo-Aryan has completely abandoned this practice and follows Dravidian (and Austric Kol) in having a new syntactical device with the ordinary (and the only) form of the adjective standing for both the comparative and superlative. This device is already seen in Pali, which would show that the Dravidian and Austric leaven is operative in pre-Christian times in this direction.

In the case of the Verb, too, there were far-reaching changes. An almost wholesale disuse of moods and tenses reducing the verb-system of Aryan to an indicative present form (and in some cases an indicative future), a past participle giving the basis for the past tense, a present participle supplying similarly the basis for some other tenses, a conjunctive or absolutive, some verbal nouns, and a passive indicative present, characterised the development of the Indo-Aryan verb. The whole principle of phrase-

building tended to become nominal or adjectival from verbal: in place of Old Indo-Aryan inflected forms like *sa agamat, sa agacchat* or *sa jagāma,* Classical Sanskrit as well as Middle Indo-Aryan preferred a participial expression like *sa gatah,* Prakrit *so gato,* or *gado* or *gao,* whence we have New Indo-Aryan (Braj-Bhakha) *so gayau,* Bengali *se gela* (where the participle form has been reinforced by an *l*-affix). Herein there is a very likely influence of Dravidian, for in Dravidian, the verb has an adjectival force, being really a noun of agency with reference. to the subject. The Dravidian tenses developed out of participles; and in the development of Aryan we find a gradually increasing employment of the participle forms to the exclusion of the Indo-European finite verbal forms. The periphrastic future of Sanskrit *kartā* = "a doer" to mean, "he will do", *kartā+asmi=kartāsmi* = "I am a doer", to mean "I shall do", is Dravidian in principle. The structure of the past and future verb in modern Magadhan languages (Bengali, Oriya, Maithili, Bhojpuri, etc.), in showing the root + past or future base derived from the participle affix + personal pro-nominal affix, affords a remarkable parallel to Dravidian. The importance attached to the conjunctive with the sense of "having performed or finished an act", and its lavish use, are common to both Dravidian and New Indo-Aryan, and is undoubtedly an idiom borrowed by Aryan from Dravidian, very early in the history of Aryan, with possible influence from Sino-Tibetan.

The inflected passive of Old Indo-Aryan is lost to or considerably restricted in New Indo-Aryan, which, like Dravidian, forms passives by means of compound verb constructions, in which the roots meaning "to go, to fall, to suffer, to eat", etc. function as passive-forming auxiliaries. Herein the idiom is probably Dravidian.

With the want of prepositions (or preverbials) to modify meanings of verb roots, both Indo-Aryan and Dravidian have developed the use, in a most curious and idio-

matic way, of conjunctives and participles with an adverbial function, giving rise to what is known as the "Compound Verb". Thus, in Sanskrit we have *ni-*, preverbial, + root *sad* = English "sit down", but Bengali *basiyā paḍa* "sit down", beside *basā* = "to sit"; so Hindi *baiṭh jānā*, beside *baiṭhnā*. In Dravidian languages, like the Indo-Aryan modifying roots, certain roots like Tamil *koḷḷu* "to take", *varu* "to come", *vidu* "to live", *pō* "to go", *uru* "to come", *adi* "to strike", *paḍu* "to suffer", Telugu *konu* "to buy or take", *vesenu* "to throw", *iccu* "to give", etc. are used. For example, Tamil *cey viṭṭān'* = "has finished", Bengali *kariyā diyāche*; Telugu *vrāsi vēyu* = "to finish writing, to write off", Bengali *likhiyā phelā*, etc. This kind of adverbial or prepositional use of an auxiliary verb goes back to Middle Indo-Aryan: e.g. Pali *sampādetvā adamsu* = "completed", literary "having finished, gave", compare Bengali *kariyā diyāchila*; *patitvā gatam*="fell down", Bengali *paḍiyā gela*; *maccu ādāya gacchati* ="death takes away", literally "having taken, goes", cf. Bengali *laiyā jāy*. Evidently, this novel device characterising also the Dravidian was becoming adopted in Indo-Aryan from pre-Christian times, as in Pali.

Another principle which we note in New Indo-Aryan is the employment of a root meaning "to do" + a noun to express the simple idea of a verb root, e.g. Bengali *jijñāsā karā* = "to make a query", for the simple root *puch* "to ask". We have in Tamil *muṭṭañ ceydan'* = "made a kiss", for "kissed", *pāvañ ceydan'* = "made a sin", for "sinned", Telugu *pāḍu cesenu* = "waste-made", for "wasted", *vrayamu cesina* = "expending having-made", for "having spent". This has become a characteristic thing in modern Indian languages, Aryan or Dravidian, so much so, that this principle of compounding a noun or adjective with the verb "to do or make" has been taken over from Hindustani in the formation of Basic English. Already in Pali we have this device, e.g. *āhāram karoṭi, kalaham karoṭi, saññam karoṭi*, etc., etc., and it is

found in the earlier phrases of Modern Indo-Aryan and Dravidian also.

In Syntax, which is regarded as being of greater importance as an inherited peculiarity than Phonetics or Morphology which is easily acquired or modified, we find that Indian Dravidiandom and Aryandom are one. (Italics ours—Ed.) A sentence in a Dravidian language like Tamil or Kannada ordinarily becomes good Bengali or Hindi by substituting Bengali or Hindi equivalents for the Dravidian words and forms, without modifying the word-order : but the same thing is not possible in rendering a Persian or an English sentence into a New Indo-Aryan language. The most fundamental agreements are thus found between New Indo-Aryan and Dravidian, and all this began from early Middle Indo-Aryan, as would be seen from a comparison of the syntax of Pali and the Prakrits with that of the modern Aryan languages. "*The syntactical arrangement of a Tamil sentence is in many respects similar to that of an ordinary Sanskrit sentence.* (Italics ours—Ed.) As a rule, first comes the subject with its attributes, second the object with its enlargements, third the extension of the predicate, and lastly the verb. As in Classical Sanskrit, so in Tamil, there is the usual predominance of gerunds and the clauses formed by them, of the relative participles which take the place of relative clauses, and of the *oratio recta* instead of the *oratio obliqua* ". The omission of the copula is preferred by both Indo-Aryan, generally, and Dravidian.

The most remarkable similarity in idioms is found in both. Thus, we have the use of a conjunctive meaning " having said ", in the sense of " as, because ", recapitulating and introducing a conditional clause ; employment of the infinitive for the polite imperative ; use of the verb " to give " in forming the imperative, or permissive mood ; etc. In some of the above points there is also agreement with Sino-Tibetan ; but on the whole, generally Indo-

Aryan possesses common traits of syntactical expression with Dravidian rather than with languages of other families.

The use of Onomatopoetic Formations and of what are known as " Echo Words " form other great points of agreement between Aryan and Dravidian in India. Through these " Echo Words ", the idea of " *et cetera,* and things similar to, or associated with that " is expressed : e.g. Bengali *ghoḍā-ṭoḍā,* Maithili *ghorā-torā,* Hindi *ghoḍā-uḍā,* Gujarati *ghoḍo-boḍo,* Marathi *ghoḍā-biḍā,* Sinhalese *as'vaya-bas'vaya* = " horses etc., horses and other animals, horses and equipage " ; cf. Tamil *kudirai-gidirai,* Kannada *kudure-gidure,* Telugu *gurramu-girramu.*

Finally, we find that the Aryan speech has been borrowing words from the Dravidian, ever since the former made its advent into India. The study of the nature and extent of the Dravidian loan-words in Indo-Aryan now forms an important subject of Indian linguistics. A great many of the *des'ī* words in Sanskrit and Prakrit and Modern Indo-Aryan, of which counterparts are not found in other Indo-European languages, are very probably of Dravidian origin — in some cases, of course, they might be even pre-Dravidian and pre-Austric. R. Caldwell, H. Gundert, F. Kittel and T. Burrow and others have made notable contributions in appraising the Dravidian loan-element in Indo-Aryan. *It is remarkable how significant a Dravidian element we have in the Indo-Aryan languages from Vedic Sanskrit onwards : some of the commonest words of Indo-Aryan are from this source, showing the very deep and intimate influence exerted by Dravidian in transforming Indo-Aryan.* (Italics ours—Ed.).

All this would indicate to what an extent the Aryan language has changed its character in its non-Aryan (Dravidian, Austric and Sino-Tibetan) environments in India. This type of change, as has been suggested before,

is due primarily to the Aryan language being adopted by large numbers of original non-Aryan speakers, modifying it according to their own speech-habits, and then by sheer weight of numbers swamping, so to say, the native speakers of Aryan, and forcing them, through influence of new environment, to accept these modifications and innovations. Little by little the approximation became complete. (Italics ours—Ed.) The situation during the forgotten epochs of the linguistic absorption of non-Aryan speakers in Northern India was one which can be visualised through what we actually see in those areas of India where the non-Aryan languages as speeches of backward " Aboriginals " (*Ādi-bāsīs*) are slowly receding before the continuous and unabated pressure of Aryan : e.g. in the Kol-speaking areas of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa, in the Tibeto-Burman tracts in Nepal, Bengal and Assam, and in the Kurku-speaking and Gondi and other aboriginal tracts in Madhya Pradesh. In the late Vedic period, there were just scattered islands of Aryan speech in the Panjab and Gangetic India, in a land of Dāsas, Dasyus and S'ūdras, of Nishādas and Nāgas, and of Kirātas. By the middle of the first millennium B.C., the tables were turned, and in the time of Buddha, the country from Gandhara to Magadha was mainly Aryan-speaking, with islands of Dāsa or S'ūdra (i.e. Dravidian) and Nishāda or Nāga (or Austric) speech in the countryside and beside the virgin forests of Northern India. We hear in the Pali *Jātaka*, for instance, of *Caṇḍāla* villages in Northern India, where only the non-Aryan *Caṇḍāla* speech, whatever it was, was spoken.

Evidently this was the time when Aryan-speakers, of pure or mixed Aryan origin, understood, some of them at least, the local (native) languages : witness the case of Vidura warning Yudhishṭhira through *pralāpa* or "gibberish ", i.e. some non-Aryan speech not understood by others, as we find in the Mahābhārata. The non-Aryan languages gradually died out in Northern India probably for these reasons : (i) the prestige of the Aryan speech as

that of a *Herrenvolk* which had established itself in the country, and to which the allegiance of the conquered peoples was a matter of course; (ii) absence of cohesion among the polyglot non-Aryans of Dravidian, Austric and Kirāta origin, living side by side, with the Aryan speech coming to the forefront as a very convenient *lingua franca*; (iii) the spirit of *laissez faire* and an evident policy of non-intervention with reference to the non-Aryan languages — nobody ever seems to have tried to put a stop to or restrict their use; and this policy of letting the non-Aryan speeches have their own way while ignoring them in all domains of serious study (there could not be the question of setting up a single Austric or Dravidian dialect before others) was most effective; (iv) the liberal policy shown, doubtless as a matter of convenience, by Brāhmans and other custodians of the Aryan's language towards non-Aryan vocables and idioms, — the gradual and unrestricted entry, mostly by the back-door, of a large non-Aryan vocabulary first in Vedic and in the Prakrits and then in the Classical Sanskrit, took away the edge of opposition to Sanskrit and other forms of Aryan, if there was any such opposition at all: the gradual approximation of Sanskrit and the Prakrits to the spirit of both Dravidian and Austric made the Aryan's language easily acceptable to non-Aryan speakers; (v) the fact that Sanskrit and other Aryan became the vehicle of a great composite culture, all-inclusive in scope, that was being built up through the combined efforts of Ārya, Drāviḍa, Nishāda and Kirāta, helped to maintain its supreme position in a new Indian population of mixed origin, directed more or less by groups like the Brāhmans boasting of a pure Aryan tradition; (vi) the early development of a literature in Sanskrit through the collection of Vedic Hymns and sacrificial texts, and through the redaction of masses of national legendary and semi-historical tales and traditions as in the Purāṇas, gave to Sanskrit an immense advantage over other languages. We do not know what literature the Sindh-Panjab "Proto-Indians" (as Hrozny' calls them) — whether Dra-

vidian-speakers or not — had: probably what little literature the pre-Aryan peoples had was confined to an exclusive priestly class; *and with the first writing down of Sanskrit in a form of proto-Brahmi script (derived, as it would seem, from the latest linear phase of the Mohen-jo-Daro writing, probably sometime in the 10th century B.C.), intelligent Mestizo thought-leaders like Vyāsa started to gather whatever was available of the extant oral literature of religious hymns as well as tales and legends and genealogies, and this quick action gave a start to the Aryan speech which assured its future for ever;* (Italics ours — Ed.) (vii) it is exceedingly likely that there was no effective linguistic or cultural patriotism (if there was any at all) among the leaders of the various non-Aryan groups in Northern India: particularly when the Brāhmans through their intelligence and prestige were able to give a theory of society which ignored the racial and linguistic aspects and included the whole of Indian humanity within a single scheme. Finally, we have to consider (viii) the inherent beauty and force of the Aryan language, which was something which fulfilled the intellectual requirements of the Indian Man, satisfied his aesthetic sense, and at the same time was not foreign to his mental atmosphere if he still spoke or lived in the atmosphere of a non-Aryan tongue. As time passed, what was originally just "the language of poetry" (*chāndasa*) and "the current language" (*laukika*) became a veritable "language of the Gods" (*Deva-bhāṣā*) with the general acceptance of the ideology of the Brāhman's world.

The Aryan speech spread in this way, and the entire country became Aryanised in language. The non-Aryan languages in the Northern Indian plains went to the wall. But while dying out, they left their undying impress upon Sanskrit and other Indo-Aryan, particularly the New Indo-Aryan languages as they evolved out of Prakrit. It was Prakrit which largely supplanted the non-Aryan speeches.

But "Greece captured her captor". *The Aryan language with its* Sprachgut *of basic elements inherited from Indo-European, became reinforced by non-Aryan words and roots, and was reshaped according to the thought-processes of Dravidian and other non-Aryan.* (Italics ours — ED.) The waters from the original Aryan stream now found a new channel — the dried up one of the non-Aryan languages. And thus a composite people got a modified speech — the classical Aryan speech of ancient India, Sanskrit, and the spoken Prakrits of ancient and mediaeval India, and the modern *Bhāṣās* — all falling in line with Dravidian and Austric, and to some extent with Sino-Tibetan as well.

III. ARYAN AND NON-ARYAN CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS FUSION

The economic background due to the geographical environment determines material culture. The Aryans, while living in the drier and colder lands of Iran and Northern Mesopotamia, were, as a people, partly nomadic (depending upon stock-raising and horse-breeding) and partly agricultural (doing some cultivation of barley by ploughing with oxen), and they had built up a way of life which they had perforce to change profoundly in the country of India which in those days was much more wooded, even in Panjab and in Sindh, and much moister than Iran. Their food, dress and habitation, everything had to be altered according to the requirements of their new home and the new climate.

The food of the Aryans as of their kinsmen the Greeks of Hellas consisted mostly of meat (beef, mutton and goat-meat, and pork to some extent, possibly also horse-flesh, though the slaughter of the horse was later confined to a religious ritual of an exceptional type which evidently went back to a hoary antiquity in Aryandom), and barley (as roasted grain or meal or bread) and milk preparations

of various kinds (including butter, ordinary or clarified, curds and some kind of cheese), and honey was a great delicacy with them. They partook freely of, and offered to their Gods as well, a kind of spirituous drink called *soma* (from Indo-Iranian **sauma* whence also Iranian *haoma*) made from some plant which grew in the hills, which was pounded between two stones and mixed with milk. They had also another strong drink made from honey. Barley they knew in their primitive homeland to the south of the Ural mountains, and wheat they would appear to have found in Mesopotamia ; and either in Eastern Iran or in India they found the rice, and various kinds of lentils, which quickly became popular with the Aryans in India, more than wheat. The typical Indian food at the present day is rice (or wheaten bread in the Panjab and in the Upper Ganges Valley, or some kind of inferior grain like the millet in the poorer areas) eaten with lentils of various sorts, seasoned with butter or oil and with spices, and with some milk product, if that can be afforded. In the coast lands and in the predominantly Mongoloid eastern tracts, however, the main diet consists of rice and fish. This kind of food, rice and *dāl* or lentils, came to be adopted by the Aryans too ; and the old Aryan habit of eating meat regularly and plentifully, which we find discussed in the Mahābhārata, gradually became restricted or abandoned, through milk as well as vegetarian food being plentiful in the land and more suited to the warmer climate of India, and through ideas of non-injury to life (*Ahimsā*) which came to dominate the life of the mixed Indian people from after 1000 B.C. In the 4th century B C., to which date the original redaction of the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭalya can reasonably be taken, *ārya-bhakta* or the food generally eaten by " an Aryan person of the middle class ", consisted of a measure of rice, one fourth measure of *sūpa*, i.e. prepared *dāl,* with ghee or oil of one fourth of the quantity of the *sūpa* and salt measuring one-sixteenth of the portion of the *dāl.* For inferior (*avara*) persons, probably *S'ūdras* and others, the food was of the same kind. So rice, *dāl* and ghee

or oil formed the basic Indian food in the 4th century B.C. (*Artha-s'āstra*, II, xv, 61, 62, 63 : it must however be noted that, as in Asoka's inscriptions, *sūpa* might mean some kind of meat-curry as well). It was so also in the early centuries of the Muslim conquest, when Persian-using Iranian, Turki and Afghan invaders, accustomed to eating wheat bread with mutton at home, observed with wonder that Hindus "ate grain with grain" (*ghalla-rā ba-ghalla mī-khurdand*). The Dutchman F. Pelsaert (early 17th century) also noted that the food of the masses in India was rice and pulses with a lump of butter Similarly, the basic food of pre-Columbian Mexico — flat cakes (like Indian *chapatis*) made from maize dough, with a kind of beans or lentils (*tortillas* and *frijoles* in Mexican Spanish) — still forms the staple food of the Amerindian and the Mestizo population of the country, bread and meat of course being covetable additions to the diet but never complete substitutes for the native alimentation.

The dress of the Vedic Aryans consisted of garments of wool, linen and skin, with some prominent kind of head-dress for men, and wimples for women, as well as sandals of leather, and the whole body was fully covered. The dress of Persian men and women in Achæmenian sculpture may reasonably be taken to be representative of the old Aryan dress. It is likely that coming as they did from a cold climate, some sewn garments at least were in use among the Aryans : the verbal root *sīv* in Aryan indicates a knowledge of sewing. In India, although some very elaborate types of head-dress and ornaments (often made with cowrie shells) for both men and women are noticed in the art of pre-Christian times, the basic dress consisted of two (or three) pieces of unsewn cotton cloth, one being used as the loin-cloth, one as a covering for the upper body and the third as a turban for the head. Women's dress had only two pieces — one for the lower limbs from the waist to the ankle, more or less in the style of the Indonesian *sarong*, and another as a covering for

the upper part, but the breasts were generally left exposed, as in Malabar until recently and in the island of Bali, easternmost outpost of Hindu civilisation. This kind of dress also came to be adopted in Aryan society, only the wimple or veil was retained as a distinctive mark of a married woman among the upper classes of people.

The Vedic Aryan wore a beard and had long hair, and the hair for convenience was made into a knot at the top of the head. This is the old Brāhman way, as we find in the representations of Brāhmans in the most ancient classical art of India, as at Sanchi and Gandhara, and in the pictures of the *rishis* and Brāhmans which we find in the Buddhist and Brahmanical art of Central Asia, China, Japan, Indo-China and Indonesia. The Buddhist and Jaina, indicating a reaction against the Aryanism of the Brāhmans, enjoined complete shaving of the head and face, and this, with the addition of a top-knot, became later on the accepted custom among Brāhman householders also.

The Aryans, as in Vedic literature, lived in houses made wholly of wood, and building timber was quite easily obtainable in North India which was not as yet denuded of its forests. The style of architecture was influenced by that of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. Later, stone and brick were substituted for wood. Pre-Aryan Indian architecture was in brick as in the cities of Panjab and Sindh, and the poorer people had frail dwellings of bamboo or wattle smeared with mud and thatched with grass or reeds or palm leaves. All that became the rule in India, with the exception of the cities where wooden architecture, particularly as facings for houses, balconies, etc. continued side by side with brick buildings and stone palaces. Use of stone for building purposes came into India rather late, from the 4th century B.C., and through Persian influence too; and the first stone structures in India imitated in every way the earlier wooden architecture.

The house-hold furniture — pots, cups, receptacles and vessels, spoons and ladles, were at first mainly of wood among the Indian Aryans, as among their kinsmen like the Slavs, the Germans and Greeks of ancient times. Skins were also used for storing food and drink. The pre-Aryan people seem to have preferred earthenware, and for temporary use earthenware became generally adopted in Aryan-speaking Indian society as well. Bronze and copper vessels were known to the Aryans, and these also came to have a greater vogue in India when vessels of enduring character were required. In Vedic sacrifices the old custom of having vessels, cups, goblets, spoons, ladles, etc. of wood, and not of metal or terracotta, was continued as an antique practice and therefore sacrosanct.

Food and drink, dress, houses and furniture — all these of the local pre-Aryan Indian types had to be adopted by the Aryans, after they realised that they were staying in the country, and after miscegenation was well under way.

The Aryan system of computation was a decimal one, and the ten fingers of the two hands formed the basis of this computation. Two other systems were in vogue in pre-Aryan India, among the Austrics, whose highest number of computation was twenty, and among the Dravidians, who counted by eights. The Sino-Tibetans, however, seem to have had the decimal system like the Aryans. The Austric habit of counting by twenties has been preserved by village folk in North India, together with an original Kol word, Bengali *kuḍi*, Hindi *koḍī* "score", as it would appear. Computing by eights and divisibles or multiples of eight (four, sixteen, thirty-two, sixty-four) was adopted by the Aryans also; and as a combination, 10+8 = 18 became a favourite number in India.

There are too many big or little matters with regard to social usage and way of living and personal habits in which it would be found that it is the pre-Aryan manner which has triumphed. But all this might appear to be a

little too speculative. I shall now pass on to certain fundamental things in religious beliefs and practices, and myths and legends where the Aryan-non-Aryan synthesis appears to be quite clear.

Indian tradition has all along admitted two strands in Indian religion, philosophy and ritual — the Vedic, and the non-Vedic traditions — the *Nigama* and the *Āgama*, respectively, to give the Sanskrit names. The non-Vedic *Āgama* tradition is " that which has come down " from the time immemorial : it embodies the special teaching of S'iva imparted to Umā, and the Tantric doctrines and ritual and Yoga ideas and practices come under it. The Āgama *tradition is non-Aryan in origin, and it is exceedingly likely that it is very largely Dravidian, although Austric and Sino-Tibetan elements were in course of time engrafted on it.* (Italics ours—Ed.) The *Nigama* tradition is " that which has come inside ", evidently as a later cultural imposition, like the Vedic fire ritual (*homa*), from outside. One would suspect that the names *Āgama* and *Nigama* were first given by a supporter of the *Āgama* or Tantric system who believed in this doctrine to be the one earlier for the people and the country. However, Vedic ritual and Vedic ideas formed the national heritage of the Aryan settlers, particularly the Aryan aristocrats ; and the pre-Vedic, that is the pre-Aryan ritual and ideology were ignored, naturally enough, by the Vedic priests. But among the masses, specially the growing masses of Mestizos, the offspring of *anuloma* and *pratiloma* marriages, the older ideas and ritual can only be expected to persist, openly or surreptitiously, according to the predominance or power of the protagonists of Aryanism or Dravidianism.

To unite the Aryan and non-Aryan into one people, it was necessary that the *Nigama* should be combined with the *Āgama*, that the thirty-three Vedic gods, forces of nature with a slight amount of anthropomorphism or humanisation, should form members of the same Pantheon as the great

non-Aryan divinities of a cosmic significance, who represented the stupendous physical as well as the subtle moral forces operating in the universe, and were at the same time very human in their personified conceptions. These divinities later became S'iva and Umā and Vishṇu and S'rī, among others, in a combined Aryan-non-Aryan Brahmanical *Sudharmā* or "Assembly of the Gods". It was necessary also that the Vedic ritual of the fire sacrifice, the *homa,* was to concede some place at least to the non-Aryan (both Dravidian and Austric) rituals of the flower offering and blood offering.

Homa *or the Fire Ritual, and* Pūjā *or the Flower Ritual, represent two distinct worlds of religious thought or conception. The Flower Ritual of the* pūjā *is unknown to the Vedic religion: there the ritual is everywhere homa.* (Italics ours—Ed.) The idea behind the *homa* is this. The gods are 33 in number. They are in the sky. Agni or Fire is the messenger. The worshipper is not very keenly conscious of any divine *Mana* or Force pervading the Universe: he knows only some individual gods and goddesses who are humanized forms of natural forces, like Fire, Wind, Sun, Dawn, Thunder, Rain, the Sky-Vault, Earth, etc., who are potent in giving or withholding their bounty in the shape of riches (cattle, horses, flocks and harvest in plenty), sons, and victory over enemies. They are approached in a spirit of friendly reliance; his attitude in worship is that of *do, ut des (dadāmi, uta dadāsi),* "I give, so that you may give in return." He gives as offerings the food he himself eats—meat and fat of a sheep or goat or cow or horse which he kills, barley bread, milk and butter, and an intoxicant (the *soma*). which he burns in the fire kindled on an altar. The gods feel the savour of the burnt offering, and are pleased, and give in return what is prayed for: the worship is done. The idea is simple and very primitive. It is the old Indo-European ritual of worship. It was the ritual current among the extra-Indian kinsmen of the Indo-Aryans—the Iranians,

the Slavs, the Hellenes, the Italians, the Celts and the Germans. The Germanic word for the Divinity, *God* (as in English) meant only the libation to be poured into the fire itself personified (Indo-European * *ghutóm* = Sanskrit *huta'm*). Where they got this ritual from is not known. The Sumerians, and following them the Semites, had a similar ritual of burnt offerings, but not the Egyptians, nor again the Aegeans who simply made offerings of food before the images or symbols of the gods, offerings which were placed on raised stands or altars. The Indo-Europeans knew no images or symbols.

The *pūjā* ritual stands on quite a different footing. For the worshipper, the whole universe is filled with a Cosmic Force or Divine Spirit, and the worshipper wants to have a personal communion or touch with it. For this purpose, he is taught that a magic rite calling the Divine Spirit is potent enough to make it (or a portion of it) come and be installed within some symbol prepared to represent it—an image, a pot, a pebble, a tree or a branch of a tree, a picture, a design. Called through this rite, the spirit comes into the symbol, and then it at once becomes a Living Presence for the worshipper endowed with faith ; and it is after that treated as an honoured guest, like a king on a visit to a subject of his. Water is poured over the symbol ; flowers, leaves and fruit, and grains of rice or other corn as produce of the earth are offered to it ; and cooked food, delicacies of all sorts, are placed before it and offered, to become consecrated food with special sanctity. Dress and ornaments and jewellery are used to bedeck the symbol, particularly if it is an image. The divinity present in the symbol is regaled with incense and with music and dance. Lights are waved before it during worship, in token of homage. When the divinity is worshipped under a terrible aspect, animals are sacrificed before it by decapitating (the Vedic or Aryan method of sacrifice was mostly by strangulation), and the blood of the victim is either placed before the image or symbol in a flat cup, or it is smeared over the image. Red

sandal paste and vermillion were sometimes used, and these are doubtless substitutes for the red blood of the victim. Sandal paste as something cooling and fragrant is applied to the image or other symbol. Then, after this ritual, the worshipper is at liberty to come to a personal relationship with his god by prayer and appeal and meditation. The image or symbol may be made, according to the wishes of the worshipper, a permanent or a temporary abode of the divine spirit, so to say. When the latter idea is in view, another magical ritual may be performed, and the spirit releases itself from the symbol, which becomes forthwith a useless material object with no further spiritual or religious potency.

The ideas of *homa* and *pūjā,* as it is apparent, had their birth in different *milieus.* The mixed Hindu people, and the Brahmanical faith of mixed origin, inherited both. The *homa* was exclusively Aryan, to which non-Aryans had no right as it was the special privilege of the Aryan. But everybody was welcome to the *pūjā* ritual. *Homa* was a rite in which ordinarily animal sacrifice was a necessary part : it was known also as *pas'u-karma.* In *pūjā*, flowers are essential : it was, so to say, a *puṣpa-karma.* Now, on this basis, the word *pūjā* of Sanskrit has been explained by Mark Collins as a Dravidian word—*pū* meaning "flower", and the Dravidian root *cey*, *gey* meaning "to do" giving a compound form, in Primitive Dravidian of Vedic times, **pū-gey=puṣpa-karma* "the flower ritual", whence Sanskrit *pūjā.* (Jarl Charpentier suggested another derivation, from a Dravidian root *pusu* or *pucu* "to smear", anointing with sandal-paste or vermillion or blood being according to this view the basic element in the *pūjā* rite.)

In the Mahābhārata itself, there are passages discussing worship with flowers, and the ritual there is supported as something which is beautiful and acceptable to the gods. In the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, Krishna is recommending the value of religious worship in realising God, and various modes of

this worship are accepted there, and in verse 26, Chapter IX, the *pūjā* ritual is specially mentioned as one which is equally acceptable to God with the Brahmanical or Aryan fire ritual, if it is offered in a spirit of sincerity. Here we have a virtual admission of a ritual which is essentially un-Vedic and non-Aryan.

The racial intermixture which had set in loosened the foundations of the idea of a *Herrenvolk — the Conquistador* spirit — which the Aryans had brought. Men of Aryan origin, pure or mixed, were already questioning the use of the elaborate Vedic sacrifices to the gods : nay, they were even questioning the very existence of the Vedic gods. According to the Puranic tradition, Kṛishṇa Vāsudeva, while he was living among the (possibly non-Aryan) cow-herd people, refused to give honour to Indra, the Aryan god *par excellence,* and lent his support to a cult of the Govardhana hill which was more in accordance with non-Aryan mentality.

In ancient Greece, the legends of the gods and heroes, which we find in early Greek literature were believed by Sir Arthur Evans and other scholars as being largely of pre-Hellenic Aegean origin. It was even suggested that the Iliad and Odyssey were renderings of a pre-Hellenic Mycenean epos into the Indo-European Greek language, after it became established in the land of Hellas. This view has been, to some extent at least, vindicated by the finding of a number of small artefacts giving plastic representations on gems of certain legends of ancient Greece,—e.g. that of the Return of Persephone, of Artemis the Huntress, and of Oedipus. A similar thing doubtless also happened in ancient India, as in many other countries. It is exceedingly likely that a great many legends of the Purāṇas, which seem to antedate the middle of the second millennium B.C., when the Aryans are believed to have first come into India, go back really to pre-Aryan antiquity. With the Aryanisation in language of the Dravidian and other peoples of pre-

Aryan India, their legends also were re-told in their new language.

Like S'iva (cf. Old Tamil *Civan'*, later *S'ivan'*, which may be based on a Primitive Dravidian **Kiwa-*) who was identified with the Aryan Rudra and Vishṇu whose attributes mainly came from a Dravidian Sky-god (cf. Tamil *viṇ* " Sky "), other lesser gods of non-Aryan origin were adopted as a matter of course in the new Pantheon. One such god is Hanumān. As F. E. Pargiter suggested long ago, in 1913, Hanumān was probably a primeval Monkey-god of Dravidians dwelling by forests—the *Male Monkey,* whose Dravidian name (cf. Tamil *aṇ-manti*) was first translated into Vedic as *Vṛṣā-kapi,* and then Sanskritised as *Hanumant-*. From Rigveda X 86 we can see that there was at first opposition from some Aryans (represented by the goddess Indrāṇī) to the admission of this " native " god into the Aryan Pantheon, but this opposition was evidently overruled. (Other arguments will be found in my contribution to the " History and Culture of the Indian People : Vol. I, the Vedic Age," edited by R. C. Majumdar and D. Pusalker, London, 1951 : pp. 141-168, Chapter VIII, (*Pre-historic Races and Race-movements.*)

Some of the deepest things in Hindu religious culture, like the practice of Yoga, certainly go back to the pre-Aryan period. (Italics ours—Ed.) The remarkable find of the Mohen-jo-Daro amulet or seal depicting the prototype of *Yogīs'vara, Ūrdhva-liṅga* (*Lakules'a*), *Virūpākṣa, Pas'upati* S'iva, with all the attributes suggested by the Sanskrit words, and various other symbols and ritualistic poses of later Puranic Hinduism, is exceedingly important for tracing the history of Indian religion, back to pre-Aryan times, in some of its basic elements.

The Vedic as well as extra-Indian Indo-European notions about future life were very vague, and not at all highly philosophical. The Indo-Europeans believed that after death, a good man, i.e., a proper warrior, joined his ancestors, which was in the nether regions of the world, or

in some special abode of the Gods, where they lived in perpetuity, more or less re-enacting their previous life on earth. In India this Vedic eschatology was sublimated in other ways to a philosophical conception which is based on some of its elements at least on non-Aryan ideas. The belief in the transmigration of souls and in the moral law behind the conception of the *samsāra* originated on the soil of India in the post-Vedic period through a commingling of the deeper notions regarding life and being and the future world which were current among the thinking sections not only of the Aryans but also of the Dravidians and the Austrics. The ideology behind the Vedic Hymn of Creation (Rigveda, X 129) may be Austric. The extra-ordinary elaboration of the sacrificial ritual in the *Brāhmaṇa* period may also, in certain respects, be a reflex of pre-Aryan conceptions and usage in the matter of religious ceremonial.

All these things can be posed by an objective and a purely anthropological approach to the question of the racial background, cultural origins and social evolution in India. We know that in the history of religious evolution certain ideas come within human experience with the enlargement of man's vision and the unfoldment of his mental and spiritual powers. It was a far cry from primitive faith to the philosophical conceptions of a more enlightened age. A primitive religion which made a mere bargain with the unseen powers would take centuries to evolve ideas of *Jñāna* and *Bhakti*, of *Karma* and *Yoga*, and of the concepts of *Ahimsā* and *Maitrī* and *Karuṅā* in human relations. This development appears to have been rather quick in India, and a finished philosophy seems to have come into being and suffused the entire Indian Synthesis with its spirit during the great days of the period 1200 to 500 B.C., **in the later part of the Vedic age and the age of the Upanishads.** And this was the period **when the Indian Man with the great Synthesis of diverse races and cultures in his being came to be established, as one of the most remarkable phenomena in the evolution of Humanity.**

கம்பரும் சமய வளர்ச்சியும்

ஜி. எதிராஜுலு நாயுடு

கவிச் சக்கரவர்த்தி கம்பர் தமிழ்ப் பெருங்காப்பியமான 'இராமாவதாரம்' என்னும் இராமாயணம் இயற்றியதன் குறிக் கோள்களுள் ஒன்று சமய வளர்ச்சியாகும். சமயம் என்பது, கடவுளை அடையப் பின்பற்றப்படும் மதம். விஷ்ணுவைக் கடவுளாக வணங்குபவர் வைணவர்; சிவனைக் கடவுளாக வணங்குபவர் சைவர். கம்பர் பிறப்பால் சைவ சமயத்தவரென் றும், இராமபிரானிடமிருந்த அளவற்ற பத்திப் பெருக்கால் வைணவர் என்றும் சொல்லலாம்.

கம்பர் பரம ஞானியார். உண்மையில் அவர் எச்சமயத்தவ ராயினும், கல்வி அறிவாலும் ஆராய்ச்சி ஞானத்தாலும் ஆழ்ந்த அனுபவத்தாலும், 'கடவுள் எல்லாவற்றையும் கடந்த பரம்பொருள். அப்பரம்பொருளின் ஒவ்வோர் அமிச பூதரே ஒவ்வொரு சமயக் கடவுளும்,' என்னும் கொள்கையை உடையவர். இமயமலையில் தோன்றிக் கடலில் கலக்கும் சரயு நதியின் நீர், பல நிலைகளில், ஆற்றுத் தண்ணீர், குளத்துத் தண்ணீர், ஏரித் தண்ணீர், வாய்க் கால் தண்ணீர் என்று வழங்கப்படுவது போல, ஒரு பரம்பொருள் பற்பல சமயத்தாரால் அவரவர் உகந்த வழிபடு தெய்வமாகப் போற்றப்படுகிறார் என்பது கம்பர் கொள்கை.

> 'கல்லிடைப் பிறந்து போந்து கடலிடைக் கலந்த நீத்தம்
> எல்லையில் மறைக ளாலும் இயம்பரும் பொருளீ தென்னத்
> தொல்லையில் ஒன்றே யாகித் துறைதொறும் பரந்த சூழ்ச்சிப்
> பல்பெருஞ் சமயம் சொல்லும் பொருளும்போற் பரந்த தன்றே'

பரம்பொருளை ஒவ்வொரு வடிவத்தில் கண்டவரே ஒவ்வொரு சமயத்தவர். மிதிலையில் உலா வரும் இராமனைக் காண வந்த மகளிர் அவரவர் கண்களுக்கு முதலில் தென்பட்ட அவயவத்தின் அழகிலே ஒன்றிப்போய், பரம்பொருளை முற்றும் காணாமல் ஒவ்

வோர் அவயவத்தை மாத்திரம் கண்ட சமயத்தவர் போலா யினராம். இதனைக் கம்பர்,

> ‘ வாள்கொண்ட கண்ணார் யாரே வடிவினை முடியக் கண்டார் ?
> ஊழ்கொண்ட சமயத்து அன்னான் உருவுகண் டாரை ஒத்தார்.’

என்கிறார். இன்னும் ‘ பேரை ஒரு பொருட்கே பல்வகையால் பேர்த்தெண்ணும் தாரை நிலை’யைக் கடவுள் நிலைக்குஒப்பிடுகிறார். வானத்திலிருக்கும்போது மேகம்; கீழே விழும்போது மழைத் தாரை; நிலத்தில் விழுந்த பின் தண்ணீர். அதைப்போலப் பரம் பொருளான ஒரே கடவுள் படைத்தல், காத்தல், அழித்தல் என்னும் முத்தொழில்களைச் செய்யும்போது பிரமன், திருமால், சிவன் எனப் பெயர் பெறுகின்றார். எல்லாச் சமயங்களும் முழுமுதற் கடவுளான இறைவரை அடையும் வெவ்வேறு வழிகளே என்பது அவர் சித்தாந்தம்.

சமரச நோக்கு

கம்பர் காலத்தில் சைவ வைணவ சமயப் பூசல்கள் விஞ்சி யிருந்தன. அச்சமயச் சண்டையை ஒழிக்க விரும்பினார் கம்பர். ‘சமரச நோக்கில்லாமல், திருமாலே உயர்ந்தவர், சிவபிரானே உயர்ந்தவர் என்று சொல்லுகிறவர்கள் தத்துவ ஞானமில் லாதவர்கள் ; அவர்களுக்கு நற்கதி கிடைப்பது அருமை,’ என்கிறார்.

> ‘ அரன்அதிகன் உலகளந்த அரிஅதிகன்
> என்றுரைக்கும் அறிவி லோர்க்குப்
> பரகதிசென் றடைவரிய பரிசு ’

என்பது அவர் வாக்கு.

கம்பர் போற்றும் இறைவர்,

> ‘ உலகம் யாவையும் தாம்உள ஆக்கலும்
> நிலைபெ றுத்தலும் நீக்கலும் நீங்கலா
> அலகிலா விளையாட்டுடை யார்.’

உலகம் யாவற்றையும் படைத்துக் காத்து அழிக்கும் பரம் பொருள்,

'மேலொரு பொருளு மில்லா மெய்ப்பொருள் ;'
'தோய்ந்தும் பொருளனைத்தும் தோயாது நின்றசுடர்;'
'தொடக்கறுத்தோர் சுற்றம்;'
'நீந்த வரிய நெடுங்கருணைக் கெல்லாம் நிலையம்.'

எல்லாவற்றினும் உயர்ந்த உண்மைத் தத்துவம்; எல்லாப் பொருள்களிலும் கலந்திருந்தும் அவற்றின் குணங்களில் சம்பந்தப்படாத சோதி; பற்றுகளைத் துறந்தவரின் உறவு; அருள் எல்லாம் சுரக்கும் இருப்பிடம்;

'...... தொல்வினை தன்னை நீக்கித்
தென்புலத் தன்றி மீளா நெறியுய்க்கும் தேவர்;'

கருமத்தையும் அதனுல் ஏற்படும் பிறவித் துன்பங்களையும் ஒழித்து மோட்சம் அளிப்பவர்; இத்தகைய இறைவரே கம்பராமாயணத்தில்,

'அறம்தலை நிறுத்தி வேதம் அருள்சுரந்து அறைந்த நீதித்
திறம்தெரிந்து உலகம் பூணச் செந்நெறி செலுத்தித் தீயோர்
இறந்துக நூறித் தக்கோர் இடர் துடைத்து ஏக ஈண்டுப் பிறந்த'

இராமன், ஆதி காவியத்தில் அறம் காத்த உத்தம வீரன், இங்குத் தனிப் பரம்பொருளாகப் போற்றப்படுகிறுன். திரிமூர்த்திகளும் ஒன்று சேர்ந்து அயோத்தியில் இராமனுய் அவதாரம் செய்தார்கள் என்பது சுந்தர காண்டத்தில் கம்பர் கூறும் இராமாவதாரத் தத்துவம் :

'மூலமும் நடுவும் ஈறும் இல்லதோர் மும்மைத் தாய
காலமும் கணக்கும் நீத்த காரணன் கைவில் ஏந்திச்
சூலமும் திகிரி சங்கும் கரகமும் துறந்து தொல்லை
ஆலமும் மலரும் வெள்ளிப் பொருப்பும்விட்டு அயோத்தி வந்தான்'

பத்தி உணர்ச்சி

கம்பர் காவியம் முழுவதிலும் பத்தி உணர்ச்சி ஊறியிருக்கிறது. ஆற்றின் சிறப்பைக் கூறும் முதற்படலத்திலேயே வெண்ணிற மேகம் கடலிற்படிந்து நீரை முகந்து கருநிறத்துடன் திரும்பியது என்று சொல்ல வந்த கம்பர், வெண்மேகம் சிவபெருமான் நிறத்தையும் கருமேகம் திருமால் நிறத்தையும் ஒத்திருந்தன என்கிருர் :

‘ நீறு அணிந்த கடவுள் நிறத்தவான்
ஆறு அணிந்துசென்று ஆர்கலி மேய்ந்துஅகிற்
சேறு அணிந்த முலைத்திரு மங்கைதன்
வீறு அணிந்தவன் மேனியின் மீண்டதே.’

மிதிலைக் காட்சிப் படலத்தில், சூரியோதயத்தின் அழகை வருணிக்கும் கம்பர், ‘அந்தணர் வேதம் முழங்கவும், கின்னரர்கள் இசை பாடவும், தேவர் கைகூப்பி வணங்கவும், கடலோசை மத்தளம் போல ஒலிக்கவும், பளபளக்கும் கிரணங்களைப் பரப்பிக் கொண்டு சூரியன் உதயமாகும் காட்சி சிவபெருமான் செஞ்சடை விரித்து நடனமாடுவது போன்றிருந்தது,’ என்கிறர்:

‘ எண்அரிய மறையினொடு கின்னரர்கள் இசைபாட உலக மேத்த
விண்ணவரும் முனிவர்களும் வேதியரும் கரம்குவிப்ப வேலை
[யென்னும்
மண்ணுமணி முழவதிர வானரங்கி னடம்புரிவாள் இரவி யான
கண்ணுதல்வா னவன்கனகச் சடைவிரிந்தா லெனவிரிந்த கதிர்க
[ளெல்லாம்.’

பூக்கொய் படலத்தில், சூரியோதய வருணனை செய்யும் கம்பர், ‘இருளை அகற்றச் சூரியன் தன் ஆயிரம் கிரணங்களைப் பரப்பிக்கொண்டு உதயகிரியினின்று புறப்பட்டது, இரணியனைக் கொல்ல நரசிங்கமூர்த்தி பல கைகளை நீட்டிக்கொண்டு பொற்றூணினின்று தோன்றியதுபோன்றிருந்தது,’ என்கிறர் :

‘ மீன்உடை எயிற்றுக் கங்குல் கனகனை வெகுண்டு வெய்ய
கான்உடைக் கதிர்கள் என்னும் ஆயிரம் கரங்கள் ஓச்சித்
தான்உடை உதய மென்னும் தமனியத் தறியி னின்று
மானுட மடங்கல் என்னத் தோன்றினன் வயங்கு வெய்யோன்.’

இவ்வாறு காவியப் போக்கில் அங்கங்கே கடவுட்சிந்தனையையும் பத்தி உணர்ச்சியையும் ஊட்டிக்கொண்டே போகிறர். பத்தர்கள் பரவசத்துடன் படிக்கும் விராதன் தோத்திரமும் கவந்தன் தோத்திரமும் கம்ப ராமாயணத்தில் தத்துவ ஞானப் பெருநிதியெனப் போற்றப்பட்டு வருகின்றன.

கம்பர் சித்தாந்தம்

சமயகோடிகள் எல்லாம் தம்தம் இஷ்ட தெய்வமென்று செய்யும் வழிபாடுகளையெல்லாம் பரம்பொருள் ஒருவரே அவரவர் வழிபடு தெய்வமாய் இருந்து ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளுகிறர் என்பது கம்பர் சித்தாந்தம்.

' நனிநின்ற சமயத்தோர் எல்லோரும் நன்றென்னத்
தனிநின்ற தத்துவத்தின் தகைமூர்த்தி '

என்றும்,

' ஆயாத சமயமும்நின் அடியவே; அயலில்லை.'

என்றும் பாடுகிறார்.

கடவுளை அடையப் பின்பற்ற வேண்டிய சாதனங்கள் எல்லா மதங்களுக்கும் பொதுவானவை. செய்யும் சடங்குகளிலும் உச்சரிக்கும் நாமங்களிலுமே வேற்றுமையுண்டு. இவ்வடிப்படைத் தத்துவங்களைக் கம்பர் காவியப் பாத்திரங்கள் மூலமாக விளக்கிக் காண்பிப்பதில் சமய வளர்ச்சியை—பத்தி மதத்தை—பரவச் செய்வதைத் தம் நூலின் முக்கிய இலட்சியமாகக் கொண்டார் என்பது இதனாற் புலனாகும். பத்தி வளர்ச்சிக்குரிய முக்கியத் தத்துவங்களை ஆராய்வோம் :

இராமபிரானிடமும் சீதாபிராட்டியிடமும் தெய்விகக் காதல் கொண்டவரே உய்ந்தார் ; மேனி அழகில் காமவசப் பட்டவர், வீரனது சுடுசரத்தாலும் பிராட்டியின் கற்புத்தீயாலும் அழிந்தார். இதற்குச் சான்று சூர்ப்பணகையும் இராவணனும்,

பரதன்

மெய்யன்பர்களிடம் மாசற்ற பத்திக் காதல் மிளிரும். இராமன் காடேகியதால் அரியணைக்கு அருகனான பரதன் அரசேற்க மறுத்து,

' மூன்றுல கினுக்குஒரு முதல்வ னாய்முதல்
தோன்றினன் இருக்கயான் மகுடம் சூடுதல்
சான்றவர் உரைசெயத் தரும மாயதே!'

என்று சொல்லிச் சித்திரகூடம் சென்று இராமனிடமிருந்து பாதுகை பெற்று, அயோத்தி புகாமல், இராமன் அனுபவியாத இன்பங்களை நுகராமல், அண்ணலைப் போலத் தவவேடம் தாங்கி, நந்தியம்பதியில், துவண்ட மேனியனாய், அழுத கண்ணனாய், இராமன் சிந்தனையில் பாதுகையைப் பூசை செய்து வந்தான். பத்தனது குறிக்கோள் பகவானுடன் ஐக்கியமாக முயலுவதே என்பதைக் கம்பர் பரதன் மூலம் காட்டுகிறார்.

இலக்குமணன்

பத்தன் ஆண்டவனுக்கு அடிமை என்னும் கொள்கையைக் கம்பர் இலக்குமணன் மூலம் போதிக்கிறார். இலக்குமணன் இராமனுடன் வனம் சென்றதும், 'துயிலெனும் அணங்கு வந்து தோன்றலும் அவளை நாமே எயிலுடை அயோத்தி மூதூர் எய்துநாள் எய்து,' என்று சொல்லித் தூக்கத்தை அறவே நீத்து, 'பச்சிலை கிழங்கு காய் பரமன் நுங்கிய மிச்சிலே நுகர்ந்து', 'இந் நெடுஞ்சிலை வலானுக்கு ஏவல் செய் அடியன் யானே' என்று தன்னை அறிமுகப்படுத்திக்கொண்டு, அல்லும் பகலும் இணை பிரியாது பெருமானுக்கும் பிராட்டிக்கும் தொண்டாற்றுவதே கருமமாயிருந்தனன். பத்தன் பகவானுக்கு அடிமைத் தொழில் செய்வதில் இமைப்பொழுதும் அயரான். ஆண்டான் அடிமை இலட்சணம் இலக்குமணன்பால் புலனாகிறது.

குகன்

இறைவனுக்கு எக்காலமும் திரிகரணங்களாலும் சேவை செய்வது பத்தி மதத்தின் மற்றொரு குறிக்கோள். இதற்குச் சான்று வேடர் குலத்துதித்த குகன். இவன், 'அற்றம் நீத்த மனத்தினன், அன்பினன்' "தேவா, நின்கழல் சேவிக்க வந்தனன், நாவாய் வேட்டுவன், நாய் அடியேன்," என்று தன்னைத் தெரிவித்துக்கொள்ளுகிறான்; அருத்தியின் மீனும் தேனும் அமுதினுக் கமைவதாகத் திருத்திக் கொணர்ந்தான்.

" அரியதாம் உவப்ப உள்ளத்து அன்பினால் அமைந்த காதல்
தெரிதரக் கொணர்ந்த வென்றால் அமிழ்தினும் சீர்த்த அன்றே ?
பரிவினில் தழீஇய என்னில் பவித்திரம் "

'அன்பினாலும் இரக்கத்தாலும் கொடுக்கப்பட்ட பொருள் எதுவானாலும் பரிசுத்தமானது,' என்று இராமன் குகனது அன்புக் காணிக்கையை அங்கீகாரம் செய்கிறான். தன் இருப்பிடம் போகக் குகனுக்கு விடை கொடுக்கப்பட்டும்,

" தீர்கிலேன் ஆனது ஐய செய்குவேன் அடிமை யென்றான் "
" ....தீராக்
காதல னாகு மென்று கருணையின் மலர்ந்த கண்ணன்,
' யாதினு மினிய நண்ப! இருத்தீஈண்டு எம்மோ டென்றான்."

சக்கரவர்த்தி திருமகனும் ஜனககுல சுந்தரியான சீதையும் வெறுந்தரையில் படுத்துறங்குவதையும் இலக்குமணன் வில் ஏந்

திக் காவல் செய்வதையும் பார்த்த குகன், தானும் தொடுத்த வில்லனுய், 'வெம்பி வெந்து அழியாநின்ற நெஞ்சினனுய், விழித்த கண்ணனுய்க் கண்ணீர் அருவிசோர் குன்றில் நின்ருன்.' மறுநாள் இராமன் சித்திரகூடம் போகப் புறப்பட்டதும் குகன் பிரிகிலன்; உடன் வந்து உதவி புரிய நியமனம் கோருகிருன்.

"மருவலர் எனின்முன்னே மாய்குவென் வசையில்லேன் ;
பொருவரு மணிமார்பா ! போதுவெ னுடனென்ருன்."

உடன் பிறந்த தம்பி, 'முன்னம்மடி' என்று தன் தாய் சுமித்திரையால் ஏவப்பட்டான். இவ்வுடன் பிறவா வேடனும் எதிரிகள் நேர்படில் உயிர்த் தியாகம் செய்ய முன் வருகின்ருன். என்னே, இவன் பத்தியின் ஆழம் ! இறைவனைப் பிரிவாற்ருமையும் இறைவனிடம் தன்னை ஒழித்தலுமாகிய முக்கிய இலட்சணங்களைக் குகனிடம் காண்கிருேம்.

வீடணன்

இறைவனைச் சேர ஆசைப்படும் தொண்டனுக்குப் 'பற்று விடல்' அவசியம்; உறுதி மனப்பான்மையும் இன்றியமையாதது. இவ்வரிய பண்புகள் வீடணனிடம் காணப்படுகின்றன. அவன் அறம் தலை நின்றவர்க்கு அன்பு பூண்டவன் ; மறந்தும் தன் புகழால் வாழ்வு வேண்டாதவன். 'சீதையை அபகரித்தது அடாத செயல்; அவளை விட்டுவிடுவதே தகுதி,' என்று எவ்வளவோ அறவுரைகளை வீடணன் இராவணனுக்கு உரைத்தும் பயனில்லை. அதனுல், அவனைத் துறப்பதே கருமம் என்று கண்டனன் வீடணன்.

"உடலிடைத் தோன்றிற்று ஒன்றை அறுத்துஅதன் உதிரம் ஊற்றிச்
சுடலுறச் சுட்டு வேருேர் மருந்தினுல் துயரம் தீர்வர்."

'உடம்பில் தோன்றிய கட்டியை அறுத்துத் துர்நீரைப் போக்கி மருந்திட்டு ஆற்றுவர். அது போல, தீச்செயல் இராவணனை வேறுபடுத்தி அறவே ஒழித்தல் தக்கது!' என்று உறுதி கொண்டான்.

"மக்களைக் குரவர் தம்மை மாதரை மற்று ளோரை
ஒக்கும்இன் உயிர்அன் னுரை உதவிசெய் தாரோடு ஒன்றத்
துக்கம்இத் தொடர்ச்சி என்று துறப்பரால் துணிவு பூண்டோர்;
மிக்கது நலனே யாக வீடுபே றளிக்கும் அன்றே?"

'உலகப் பற்றினுல் பெறுவது துன்பமே. உதவி செய்தவருட்படச் சுற்றம் யாவற்றினுடைய பற்றையும் விடல் வேண்டும். அஞ்சுவது

தருமமே. அது மோட்சம் தரும்' என்று உணர்ந்து பற்றெல்லாவற்றையும் விட்டவன் வீடணன்.

" துறந்திலேன் மெய்ம்மை எய்தும் பொய்ம்மையே துறப்ப தல்லால்
பிறந்திலேன் இலங்கை வேந்தன் பின்அவன் பிழைத்த போதே "

என்ற மனநிலையில்,

" எல்லையில் பெருங்குணத்து இராமன் தாளிணை
புல்லுதும்; புல்லிஇப் பிறவி போக்குவோம்!"

என்று இராமனைச் சரண் அடைகிறன். சரணடைந்தோரைக் காப்பவனுன இராமனும், அவன் அரக்கர் கோன் தம்பி என்று பாராமல், அபயமளிக்கிறன். திருவடிச் செல்வம் கோரி வந்த வீடணனுக்கு இராமன் தானே கொடுக்கிறன் இலங்கைச் செல்வத்தையும்.

" ஆழியான் அவனை நோக்கி அருள்சுரந்து உவகை தூண்ட
ஏழினே டேழாய் நின்ற வுலகும்என் பெயரும் எந்நாள்
வாழுநாள் அன்று காறும் வாளெயிற்று அரக்கர் வைகும்
தாழ்கடல் இலங்கைச் செல்வம் நின்னதே; தந்தேன் என்றன்."

இராமன் அருளைப் பெற்ற மனமகிழ்ச்சியில் வீடணன், தான் இராவணன் தம்பி என்ற தொடர்பு நீங்கப் பரதனுக்குச் சூட்டிய கிரீடத்தை—பாதுகையை—தனக்குச் சூட்ட வேண்டுமென்று பிரார்த்திக்கிறன். அப்போது அவன் பொன்றனை இதயத்தைக் கண்டு இராமன் அவனைக் கடைசித் தம்பியாகச் சேர்த்துக்கொள்கிறன்;

" குகனொடும் ஐவரானேம் முன்பு;பின் குன்று சூழ்வான்
மகனொடும் அறுவ ரானேம்; எம்முழை அன்பின் வந்த
அகனமர் காதல் ஐய! நின்னொடும் எழுவ ரானேம்."

என்று சொல்லி அவனுக்கு அருள் செய்கிறன்.

' பற்றுஅவா வேரொடும் பசையறப் பிறவிபோய் '

என்பதற்கேற்ப உலகப் பற்றைவிட்டுப் பகவானைப் பற்றிவிட்டால் அவன் பேரருள் சித்திக்கும் என்பதற்கு வீடணன் தக்க சான்று.

கும்பகர்ணன்

தீச்செயல் அரக்கர் உட்பட எல்லாச் சீவர்கள் மாட்டும் இறைவனுக்கிருக்கும் கருணையையும், அவர்கள் உய்யத் தருணம்

வாய்த்த போது அவன் பரிவு காட்டுவதையும் கும்பகருணன் பால் கம்பர் எடுத்துக் காட்டுகிருர்.

யுத்தகளத்தில் எதிர்த்து நின்ற கும்பகருணனை அறநெறிக்கு அழைக்குமாறு வீடணன் இராமபிரானுல் ஏவப்பட்டு,

"'வேதநா யகனே உன்னைக் கருணையால் வேண்டி விட்டான்
காதலால் என்மேல் வைத்த கருணையால்; கரும மீதே;
ஆதலால் அவனைக் காண அறத்தொடும் திறம்பா தைய !
போதுவாய் நீயே' என்னப் பொன்னடி இரண்டும் பூண்டான்."

கும்பகர்ணனும் 'நீர்க்கோல வாழ்வை'யும், 'வஞ்சமும் பாவமும் பொய்யும் வல்ல நாம் உய்ஞ்சுமோ!' என்பதையும் உணர்ந்தவன்; 'தையலை விட்டு அவன் சரணம் தாழ்வது உய்திறம்,' என்று இராவணனுக்குப் புத்தி சொன்னவன் ; ஆயினும்,

"... நெடிதுநாள் வளர்த்துப் பின்னைப்
போர்க்கோலம் செய்து விட்டாற் குயிர்கொடாது
அங்குப் போகேன்."

"புலையுறு மரணம் எய்தல் எனக்குஇது புகழ தேயால்."

என்று இராமனுடன் சேர மறுத்துவிடுகின்ருன். வீடணன் இராமனிடம் போய்,

"உய்திறம் உடையார்க்கு அன்ரே அறன்வழி ஒழுகும் உள்ளம்?
பெய்திற னெல்லாம் பெய்து பேசினன்; பெயரும் தன்மை
செய்திலன்; குலத்து மானம் தீர்ந்திலன் சிறிதும் என்ருன்."

இதனுல் பற்று விட முடியாத கும்பகர்ணன், தத்துவ ஞானியான வீடணனைப்போல, இறைவன் அருளுக்குப் பாத்திர மாகாமல் போர்க் களத்தில் மடிந்து போகின்ருன்.

சுக்கிரீவன்

பத்தன் இறைவனை நண்பனைப்போல நேசித்து ஒழுக வேண்டுமென்பதற்குச் சுக்கிரீவன் ஓர் உதாரணம். இவன் இராமனது 'காமர்க் குண்டலம் துறந்த கோல வதனத்'தையும் 'குளிர்க்கும் கண்களையும்' காண்கிருன். கண்டதும் காதல் போல இராம சுக்கிரீவர் நட்பு ஏற்படுகிறது.

"......................................இவர்கின்ற காதல் ஓதக்
கனைகடற் கரைநின் றேருக் கண்ணிணை களிப்ப நோக்கி
அனகனைக் குறுகி"

"சரண்உனைப் புகுந்தேன். என்னைத் தாங்குதல் தருமம் என்ருன்."

பரிதாப நிலையிலுள்ள சுக்கிரீவன் அன்புக்குரியவன், நட்புக்கேற்றவன் என்று கருதி, இராமன், அவனை

'நீ என் இன்உயிர்த் துணைவன்'

என்கிறான். சுக்கிரீவனும் இராமனுக்கு ஆவன செய்து,

'நெய்த்தலைப் பால் அனைய நேயத்தான்'

ஆகிறான்.

"அண்ணலை அடிதொழ அணையும் அன்பினால்
நண்ணிய கவிக்குலத் தரசன் நாடொறும்
புண்ணியன் தொழுகழல் பரதன் போன்றனன்."

இராமனது கஷ்டத்திலும் துக்கத்திலும் பங்குகொண்டு, தேறுதல் சொல்லி, அவனுடன் இணைபிரியா நண்பனாய் இலங்கை சென்று, இராவணனை முடிக்க உதவி புரிந்து, அயோத்தி வந்து அண்ண லுக்குப் பட்டாபிஷேகம் செய்து வைத்து, அவன் அன்புக்கும் அருளுக்கும் தன்னைப் பாத்திரமாக்கிக்கொண்டான்.

அனுமன்

புலனடக்கம், பகவத்தியானம், திருவடி பற்றல் இவை யெல்லாம் பத்தனுக்குரிய முக்கிய இலட்சணங்கள். இத்தகைய பத்தனுக்குச் சிறந்த எடுத்துக்காட்டு, 'செவிக்குத் தேன் என இராகவன் புகழினைத் திருத்தும் கவிக்கு நாயகன்' அனுமன். இவனது அன்புக் காதல் எல்லை கடந்தது. இந்தப்பத்தியே வலிய சத்துருக்களான இந்திரியங்களை வெல்லுவதற்கு இன்றியமையாத ஆக்கம்.

"வன்ப கைப்புலன் மாசற மாய்ப்பது என்
அன்பின் அல்லது ஓர் ஆக்கம்உண் டாகுமோ?"

அனுமன் 'நெறி நின்று பொறிகள் ஐந்தும் வென்றவன்'; பஞ்ச-சேனாபதிகளை வதைத்தவன்.

"வஞ்சமும் களவும் வெஃகி வழியலா வழிமேல் ஓடி
நஞ்சினும் கொடிய ராகி நவைசெயற் குரிய நீரார்
வெஞ்சின அரக்கர் ஐவர் ஒருவனே வெல்லப் பட்டார்
அஞ்சேனும் புலன்க ளொத்தார்; அவனும்நல் அறிவை
ஒத்தான்."

கொடிய ஐம்புலன்களை அறிவைக்கொண்டு வெல்லுதல் முடியும் என்பதைக் கம்பர் இங்கு எடுத்துக் காட்டுகிறார்.

அனுமன் கடலைக் கடக்கும்போது மைநாகபர்வதம், சுரசை, சிம்மிகை இவர்களால் இடையூறுகள் ஒன்றன் பின் ஒன்ருய்க் குறுக்கிட, அவை அரக்கரால் ஏற்பட்டவை எனக் கருதிய அனுமன், இடையூறுகளைத் தவிர்க்கும் வழி இராமநாம தியானமே என்பதை அறிகிருன்.

"'ஊறுகடி தூறுவன வூறிலற முன்னுைத்
தேறலில ரக்கர்புரி தீமையவை தீர
ஏறுவகை யாண்டைய? இராமன்என எல்லாம்
மாறும்;அதில் மாறுபிறிது இல்'என வலித்தான்."

உடனே,

" மும்மைசால் உலகுக் கெல்லாம் மூலமந் திரத்தை முற்றும்
தம்மையே தமர்க்கு நல்கும் தனிப்பெரும் பதத்தைத் தானே
இம்மையே எழுமை நோய்க்கும் மருந்தினை இராம வென்னும்
செம்மைசேர் நாமம் தன்னை "

சொன்னதும் இலங்கை தென்பட்டது என்பது கம்பர் காவியம்.

சம்பாதி

சம்பாதி என்னும் கழுகரசனுக்கும் பகவந்நாம உச்சாரணத்தால் சிறகுகள் தழைத்து வளர்ந்தன. பகவத் தியானம் இடர்களைப் போக்கி, வேண்டும் நன்மை பயக்கும் என்பதைக் கம்பர் எடுத்துக் காட்டுகிருர்.

" நன்மையும் செல்வமும் நாளும் நல்குமே
தின்மையும் பாவமும் சிதைந்து தேயுமே
சென்மமும் மரணமும் இன்றித் தீருமே
இம்மையே 'ராம'என்ற இரண்டெழுத்திஞல்."

திருவடி பற்றல்

அனுமன் அசோக வனத்தில் சீதா தேவியைக் கண்டு அவளது சேவடி பணிகிருன்; 'செங்கமலத் திருத்தாயே தேவர் உய்யச் சீதை என இங்கமல உருவமாகி' இனிதெழுந்தாள். 'அரவின் நீங்கிய தேவனே அவன் (இராமன்); இவள் கமலச் செல்வியே' என்று அவளைக் காணத் தன் கண் செய்த பாக்கியத்தைக் கொண்டாடுகிருன். இராமனது கணையாழியை அனுமனிடமிருந்து பெற்ற பிராட்டி, 'துறந்த உயிர் வந்து இடை

தொடர்ந்தது' என மகிழ்ந்து, அவனை என்றும் அன்றுபோலச் சிரஞ்சீவியாக இருக்க வாழ்த்துகிறாள்.

"பாழிய பணைத்தோள் வீர! துணையிலேன் பரிவு தீர்த்த
வாழிய வள்ள லே!யான் மறுவிலா மனத்தே னென்னில்
ஊழியோர் பகலாய் ஓதும் ஆண்டெலாம் உலகம் ஏழும்
ஏழும்வீ வுற்ற ஞான்றும் இன்றென இருத்தி!"

என்றாள். ஐம்புலனடக்கிப் பிராட்டியின்பாலும் பெருமான் திருவடிக்கும் தீரா அன்பு பூண்டொழுகுபவர் பிறவிப் பெருங்கடல் நீந்தி என்றும் அழியாப் பெருவாழ்வு அருளப் பெறுவர் என்பது இதன் உட்பொருள்.

அன்பு

உலகில் சாதிகுல வித்தியாசமின்றிப் பல் உயிர்களையும் இணைக்கும் சத்தி அன்பு ஒன்றே. 'அன்பகத்தில்லா வாழ்வு' பசையற்ற வாழ்வு. 'அன்பின் வழியது உயிர்நிலை,' என்ற திருவள்ளுவப் பெருந்தகையின் கொள்கையைப் பின்பற்றும் கம்பர், அன்பின் அடிப்படையில் தமது தனிப்பெரும்பத்திக் காவியத்தைச் சகோதர தர்ம சாஸ்திரமாகவும், சரணாகதி நூலாகவும் செய்து சமய வளர்ச்சியில் ஈடுபடுகிறார்.

தருமம் - அதருமம்

'காதலித்த உருவாகி அறம் வளர்க்கும் கண்ணாளனை' இராமனுக்கும், காம வடிவாகி மறம் வளர்க்கும் வல்லாளனை இராவணனுக்கும் நடந்த யுத்தம் தருமத்திற்கும் அதர்மத்திற்கும் நடந்த சண்டையே. 'அறம் வெல்லும்; பாவம் தோற்கும்' என்ற பெருநீதியை உலகிற்கு அறிவுறுத்தி, மக்கள் நன்னெறியைக் கடைப்பிடித்து இறைவன்பால் பத்தி செலுத்தி நற்கதியடைய வேண்டுமென்பது கம்பர் இலட்சியம். சமய வளர்ச்சிக்கு—பத்தி மதம் பரவுவதற்கு—பாடு பட்டுப் பாக்கள் பல்லாயிரம் பாடிய பத்தரைத் தெய்வப் புலமைக் கம்ப நாட்டாழ்வார் எனச் சிறப்பித்துக் கூறுவது பொருத்தமேயன்றோ?

Earliest Jain and Buddhist Teaching in the Tamil Country

XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM

While the *Tirukkural* maintains, to a large extent, the poetic tradition of education and its development along humanistic lines, the *Silappatikāram* and the *Manimēkalai* represent the religious education of the philosophic stage of development. But even in these two books there are indications that there were poets and other scholars who were not monks. The *Manimēkalai* speaks of " teachers of philosophy, politics, logic and religion ", of " knowers of tradition ", of " those learned in hoary sciences ".[1] The word " pulavar ", which once meant mostly a poet, now undergoes a semantic expansion to include a philosopher, and the Buddha is apostrophised as the " Great Pulavar " meaning the Great Philosopher, in the same manner Mahāvīra is termed the Great Knower.[2]

During this period represented by the epics, the education of the ideal man envisaged in the *Tirukkural*, and the education of the men of affairs, ministers, councillors, army chiefs, tax-gatherers, customs' officials, who had to be trained for the Tamil State, was probably undertaken in a secular system of education. Unfortunately our sources for this period are mainly religious, and even the *Tirukkural*, which takes for granted secular education, gives hardly any indication of the methods and the content of the then prevailing system of secular education.

Of the religions which existed in the Tamil country, the religions of North Indian origin were " founded " and

1 *Mani.*, I, 10-14, 42, 59-60; XXVI, 74-75.
2 *Mani.*, V, 68; XXV, 45; *Silap.*, X, 57; XI; 4.

organised religions.[3] Even Vedic Brāhminism, though not a founded religion, was an organised and institutionalised one. The traditional Tamil religions like Saivaism and Vaishnavism and the cults of Murugan, of Kāḷi and the numerous other cults were "natural" religions ; nor were they organised during this period.[4] Hence of their systems of religious education, we know only that through worship and through their priests and ascetics they transmitted religious knowledge.[5] Of Saivaism and Vaishnavaism the *Silappatikāram* and the *Manimēkalai* do not furnish much data. Both these classics show that a great measure of friendliness existed between the votaries of the Tamil religions and cults and the adherents of Vedism, Jainism, Buddhism and Ājīvikism ; that the same family might include adherents of different religions, and that ordinary people often worshipped or paid homage at the numerous shrines of different religions. The encouragement given to religious discussion in public, in the market place and on the occasion of festivals, and the opportunities afforded for learning about other faiths, were many. However, a polemical rancour was beginning to develop among the teachers of the religions of North Indian origin since they were extraneous faiths contending among themselves to win adherents in the Tamil kingdoms. The earliest religious polemics in the Tamil country occur among the Vedic Brāhmins, the Jains, the Buddhists and the Ājīvikas.[6]

VEDIC EDUCATION

Vedic education in the Tamil country followed minutely the pattern which had been evolved in Northern India. It was uncompromising in its caste restrictions and admitted only Brāhmin boys to its teaching. The centre

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3 On the distinction between "founded" and "natural" religions see JOACHIM WACH, *Sociology of Religion.*

4 See V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, *The Silappadikaram*, op. cit., p. 47 ff.

5 See M. RAJAMANIKKAM, *Saivaism in the Pre-Pallava Period*, TC, Vol., V (1956) p. 328 ff.

6 See *Puram*., 161 and its commentary.

of its development was the sacrifice, the ritual and the recitation of the Vedic texts. Boys were taught the Vedas from their young years, and there is an episode in the *Silappatikāram* which mentions that of a group of boys in a Brāhmin village the one who was best in reciting them faultlessly was given gifts of gold by a Brāhmin who had himself obtained the gifts from a Tamil king as a reward for his dialectical skill. Those who were most learned in the Vedas and had been taught by teachers of repute were those preferred for the performance of sacrifice.[7]

Many of the Brāhmins were distinguished at Tamil courts of this period as officiating priests. Some of them so identified themselves with the culture of the country as to become distinguished poets. The descriptive terms used about the Vedic Brāhmins show that they were held in respect in the Tamil country and that they were distinguished by their sacred thread, by the Sanskrit language which they used, by their recitation of the Vedas, by the sacrifices which they offered, and the exclusive quarters of villages and towns in which they lived.

Asceticism too developed under Vedic sponsorship. It might have been an ascetic movement which first inaugurated the migration of Vedic Brāhmins into the south of India, and the legend of Agastya, shorn of his literary and grammatical parentage of Tamil, may probably be due to some such migration. In a poem on Murugan, the god of the hills, which was composed later than 300 A.D., but is included among the Ten Idylls (Pattupāttu), the type of the ascetic as a *type of intellectual and moral ideal* is described thus :

> *" They are clad in barks of trees. Their bright, white locks*
> *Are knotted in the shape of right-whorled shells.*
> *Their figures are radiant with purity.*

7 *Silap.*, XXIII, 61 ff ; XXVIII, 187 ff. See also *Mant.*, XIII, 23-26 ; XXVII, 100 ff.

Many are the days they have known no food.
Their minds are free from hatred and revenge.
They know truths unknown to the learned
And of learning they are themselves the limit.
They have conquered Passion and Anger".[8]

As a system striving after human perfection and final deliverance, Vedic education, like the Saivite and Vaishnavite religions and other theistic and animistic cults prevalent in the Tamil country and in Northern India, postulated the dependence of man on preternatural and supernatural beings to attain his perfection and to alter the conditions of his existence and of his moral and spiritual life. This disposition in theistic religions was in sharp opposition to the educational possibilities envisaged by the non-theistic schools of thought, by Jainism, Buddhism, by Ājīvikism and by the materialistic and hedonistic schools. The Jain and Buddhist Tamil classics constantly reiterate that it is not the gods, that it is not sacrifice or recitation of the Vedas which obtain deliverance, but one's own conquest over passion and desire achieved by mortification and ethical conduct. " No one can escape the inexorable result of deeds" is the chief burden of the Jain and Buddhist didactic literature in Tamil.[9]

JAIN TEACHINGS

The Jains during this period had their monasteries (paḷḷi) established in Puhār, Uraiyūr and Maturai. There was one or more Jain nunneries as well in Puhār, and frequent instruction of the laity in doctrine was part of their evangelical work. When we are told of the *Cāranas*, who

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8 See also *Puram*, 192, 193, 251, 252, 363 on ascetics.

9 See VEN. PANDIT DEHIGASPE PANNASARA, *Contribution of Buddhism to Philosophy*, in *Vesak Sirisara*, Panadura (Ceylon), 1957, p. 9: " A Buddhist has to seek his own salvation — 'Attadipa Bhikkhame Viharatha' and 'live like a light unto yourself'. He has no saviour, gifted with miraculous powers of rescuing him from misery and elevating him to a state of bliss. Buddhism has no secret doctrines; rather it sets forth a way of living which leads to happiness in this life and to individual perfection in this world itself, its keynote being that a man can gain individual freedom by his own efforts as exemplified by the Buddha himself".

course through the heavens and who descending to earth at will, instruct human beings, we are probably to understand that there were numerous peripatetic instructors of doctrine who criss-crossed the country with no other purpose than to teach the doctrine as revealed in the life of Mahāvīra and in the Jain sacred books. A public preaching Jain rostrum, probably set up by Jain merchants, was a prominent monument in Puhār.[10]

The mode of life of Kavunti, the Jain nun, in the *Silappatikāram*, illustrates to some extent the exercise of a nun's incidental teaching functions within the Jain Church in the Tamil country. She lives in a nunnery amidst a grove, and accompanies Kōvalan and Kannagi on their journey from Puhār in order to listen to great Jain preachers in Maturai. At Srirangam, she listens with pious awe to the words of the Cāranar and repeats them to the Jain ascetics in Uraiyūr. She worships at the shrine of Mahāvīra whose figure is placed under a triple umbrella of sovereignty. When a Brāhmin on the way expounds Vedic beliefs to her and to her two companions she demonstrates to him and to her companions, how, in her estimation, the Jain doctrines, as contained in the Jain sacred books, are superior to the Vedic beliefs. On the way to Maturai she inculcates the Jain doctrine of *ahimsa* to her lay companions, avoids travel by darkness lest any living being should be hurt and loses no opportunity to instruct her companions in Jain doctrine.[11] At an opportune moment, when Kōvalan is distressed and apprehensive, she teaches the Jain view of renunciation saying :

> " Because the effect of your good deeds are exhausted, your wife and you experience great distress. Though preachers of the doctrine should proclaim ever so loudly like a drum, ' Avoid the path of evil for the law of Karma is inexorable ', those who are not on the path of virtue listen not. But when an evil deed brings its own reaction they suffer greatly because

10 On Jain monasteries, see *Silap.*, X, 15 ff ; XI, 1 ff. On Jain caves see, M. S. VENKATASAMY, *Jainism and Tamil* (Tamil) op. cit.

11 Compare *Silap.*, X, 64 ff, with *Acaranga Sutra*, Book II; Lecture 3; Lesson 1.

of *ignorance*. On the other hand the learned do not grieve at the inevitable consequences of past *Karma*.

"The sufferings of partings and unions and those created by the god of passion (Kāma) affect only those that get involved in the love of curly-haired maidens and not ascetics who live in single blessedness. The ascetics have seen all down the ages the dire distress caused by women and by food and hence have relinquished the desire for both ".[12]

And finally, in true Jain style, she undertakes a fast unto death after hearing of the fate which has overtaken Kōvalan and Kannagi and the Pāndyan king and queen.

BUDDHIST DHARMA

The *Manimēkalai* is uncompromisingly Buddhist and offers more data concerning the content and methods of Buddhist religious adult education than does the *Silappatikāram* about Jain education. It is manifestly an epic of the Hinayāna doctrine, but it may be disputed as to which of the Hinayāna schools it belongs. There is no reference in it to the Mahāsanghika school which prevailed in the Andhra country north of the Tamil border. Nor are there references to Nāgarjuna's Madhyamika school, or to Aryadeva or to any of the Mahayānist Yogacara teachers like Dinnaga and Dharmapala who subsequently taught in Kānchi. The *Manimēkalai* probably belongs to the *Sautrantika* school of the Theravāda and represents the Buddhism prevailing in the Tamil country at the time of its composition (circa A.D. 200 ?).[13]

The Buddhists, according to the two ' epics ", had established their monasteries and nunneries in Puhār, Kānchi and

12 *Silap.*, XIV, 25-43. The Jainism prevalent in the Tamil country was of the Dighambara school.
P. B. DESAI, Jainism in South India and some Jaina epigraphs, Sholapur, 1957.

13 S. KRISHNASWAMY AIYENGAR, *Manimekhalai in its historical setting*, op. cit.
ID., *The Buddhism of Manimekalai*, in (Ed B C LAW) *Buddhistic studies*, op. cit., pp. 1-25 In the same book see,
V R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, *Buddhism in Tamil Literature*, pp. 673-698. The book contains useful essays on other aspects of Buddhist education.

Vanci, and the archaeological evidence shows that Buddhist monks occupied in the pre-Christian era caves in the southern districts of Maturai and Tirunelveli.[14] The Indra-vihara, consisting of seven pagodas in Puhār, included a sacred bodhi tree and may have had three hundred monks living there ;[15] a similar monastic structure existed in Vanci, the capital of the Tamil Cēra kingdom in the western part of Southern India. The monastic system and monastic preaching appear to have been long established in the Tamil country. The Buddhists too seem to have had a great number of teachers traversing the Tamil country. Pilgrimages to Maṇipallavam, an island off the coast of Ceylon, and to Samanoḷi in Ratnadipa (Adam's peak in Ceylon) were frequent as were also pilgrimages to sacred Buddhist places in Northern India.

Two itinerant teachers are prominent in the *Manimēkalai*. One is Manimēkalai herself, a Buddhist novice who before her final entry into the Sisterhood both by precept and example inculcates the basic ethics of Buddhism, and Aravana Adigal, an aged and persevering teacher and philosopher of Buddhism, who retains his clarity of thought and his eloquence in spite of his advanced years, his worn-out body and his grey hairs. The discourses made by these two teachers show that the Vinaya, the Dhamma and the Abidhamma were known and were part of Buddhism in the Tamil country, and that the *Tripitakas* were the sources of the teaching. The *Manimēkalai* itself has drawn from the Jātakas for its main narrative and for its concept of karmic casualty and rebirth. The fundamentals taught to those who embrace the path of the Buddha are summarised in the lines :

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[14] P. C. ALEXANDER, *Asoka and the spread of Buddhism in Cheranadu*, TC, Vol., I (1952), no. 2, pp. 125-131.

K. K. PILLAI, *The Brahmi inscriptions of South India and the Sangam Age*, TC, Vol., V (1956), no. 2, pp. 175-185.

M. S. VENKATASAMY, *Buddhism and Tamil* (Tamil), op. cit, p. 19 ff.

[15] *Silap.*, XXVII, 93.

> "*Birth is Suffering;*
> *The Ending of Birth is Supreme Bliss;*
> *Birth is born of Desire;*
> *Nirvāna is attained by ending Desire.*
> *Understand and accept the Panca-sila.*
> *This is the way to attain Life.*"[16]

Karmic suffering and casualty due to passion and desire, abstention from aesthetic and emotional pleasures such as are provided by music, dance and the drama, and the philosophy of impermanence are constantly reiterated through direct teaching, and exemplified in the life-stories of the characters of the poem :

> "*Youth is fleeting; Beauty is fleeting;*
> *Sky-high wealth is equally fleeting;*
> *Nor do children ever confer heaven.*"[17]

The twenty-ninth canto of *Manimēkalai* shows the study which Buddhist teachers made of the other philosophical and religious systems and of their logical bases, and the thirtieth canto summarises the Four Truths, the Twelve Nidānas and causal nexus.

> "*Examine separately and understand that everything is impermanent, full of suffering, without a soul and unclean, and therefore end Desire . . . . .*
> *By listening to Dhamma (śruti), by meditation, by mental bhāvana and mental darsana, end all Illusion.*
> *By these four means end the darkness of the mind*".[18]

SCRIPTURES IN TAMIL

Both Jainism and Buddhism in their methods of religious teaching inculcated a great reverence for the personality of their founders. They drew lessons from the contemporary scene, from the nature of life and from their sacred books. Did these sacred books exist in Tamil ? And

16 *Mani.*, II, 64-69.
17 *Mani.*, XXII, 135-137.
18 *Mani.*, XXX, 254 ff.

how far was writing an aid to study and teaching in the pre-Pallava age ?

In the Tamil classics, which we have examined here as belonging to the pre-Pallava period of Tamil history, there is no apodictic proof that the anthologies and the "epics" were already written down and that formal education included the study from manuscripts. There is evidence that writing was used and formed part of instruction.[19] Writing was used for detailed sepulchral inscriptions, for commercial purposes and for epistolary communication,[20] but did the ēdu or leaf-book exist in the pre-Pallava period or was all this literature retained orally and transmitted orally ? In the Sangam period the word nūl (sutra) occurs in the sense of a technical treatise and the cumulative evidence would point to the existence of books ; [21] however, the principal means of conserving and teaching literature, both secular and religious, was oral (kēlvi).

Whether the Jain and the Buddhist literature was translated into Tamil from their North-Indian originals in the pre-Pallava period is not known. But the Tamil terminology used in the Jain and Buddhist "epics" and their literary excellence point to a long period of Jain and Buddhist literary culture in the Tamil country as to render Jain and Buddhist works bear little or no traces of foreign origin except the technical terms of their religious philosophy.[22]

CONFLICTS AND SYNTHESIS

The sources which describe the philosophic period of Sangam literature are also evidence of the conflicts and the synthesis which ensued as a result of the different schools of religious and philosophic thought achieving

19 E.g., *Tolkappiyam*, *Elutu*, 6, 14, 15.
20 E.g., *Aham*, 67, 77, 131 ; *Puram*, 260, 264 ; *Silap*, XIII, 82 ff.
21 S. VAIYAPURI PILLAI, *History of Tamil Language and Literature*, TC, Vol., III (1954), nos., 3 and 4, p. 332.
22 See *Ibid.*, pp. 348 ff.

maturity of articulation and organisation in urban and city culture. The religions which were founded in the sixth century B.C., in India were probably introduced into the Tamil country during the Mauryan Empire. Chandragupta Maurya and Bhadrabahu may have been responsible for the spread of Jainism in Southern India, and Aśoka's patronage may have contributed to the introduction of Buddhism into the Tamil country at about the same time that it was introduced into Ceylon. It may be surmised that the Vedic cults too were introduced into the Tamil country during this period of North Indian migrations into Southern India. There are faint and rare traces of Buddhist and Jain thought in the Sangam anthologies, and very tangible and solid evidence for the influence of Vedic thought.[23] However, it is in the sources of the philosophic period that the religions and philosophies of Northern Indian origin assume full development and maturity in the South making the Tamil scene appear almost as animated from an intellectual and philosophical point of view as the North Indian scene in the sixth century B.C.

The *Silappatikāram* represents the result of a fusion and synthesis of cultures originating in Northern and Southern India. In the Jain epic there is a preponderant and overpowering love for the Tamil country, its language, its literature, its music, and respect for its regional worship and shrines and its hoary institutions. The epic uses all the previous Tamil literary heritage and conventions, and reduces to a basic unity the triple political division of the Tamil kingdoms in the best traditions of the poetic age. The prowess and military exploits of the Tamil kings against Northern India are extolled and the territorial integrity and political " union within division " of the Tamil kingdoms are vehemently defended. The introduction of the Jain doctrines of *ahimsa* and renunciation, and asser-

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23 Some Sangam poets bear Buddhist names — Illambodhiyar, Theradaran, Siruventheraiyar. Jain mythology is said to be found in *Puram*, 175 and *Aham*, 59. For Vedic thought, the evidence is to be had in nearly all the anthologies.

tions of Mahāvīra's supremacy as a teacher of the path of Release and Salvation are made gently and unobtrusively. To a Brāhmin who recommends ablutions in three lakes which procure a knowledge of Indra's grammar, a knowledge of former births and the power to realise one's wishes, Kavunti, the Jain nun, replies that all these and more means of fulfilment are found in the Jain scriptures (Parāgamam) and that Truth and regard for all living beings confer unlimited power. In the third part of the epic, which is rather Vedic in spirit, Mādalan, the Brāhmin, makes a strong plea regarding the value of Vedic sacrifices to a victorious Tamil king who has neglected them for fifty years.[24]

The territory of ideological, political and military interest too has definitely in the epic period extended further than Vēnkadam hill in the north and Cape Comorin in the south to include the North Indian kingdoms and the Himalayas and the Sinhalese kingdom of Gajabahu.

Similarly the *Tirukkural* is a synthesis of the ideals and precepts recommended to the Perfect and Complete Man outlined in previous poetry. But the precepts of abstention from meat and from alcoholic drink and the ascetic renunciation and life eulogised in certain verses are departures from previous Tamil thought and practice and are best explained as introductions due to the influence of Vedic, Jain and Buddhist thought. The ascetic ideal was probably always cherished in the Tamil country since Siva is its ideal prototype. However, it is in the poetic and especially in the philosophic stage that both Vedic and non-Vedic ascetics are mostly found as solitaries in lonely places and in the midst of forests where elephants are said to fetch the wood for their sacrificial fires. They are also found congregated in large numbers performing the penances of their respective ascetic schools outside the city walls or in cemeteries and groves. But even where the *Tirukkural* speaks of asceticism, or of Brāhminic sacrifice or

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[24] *Silap*, XI, 150 ff.

caste, it does so often from a humanistic, critical angle demanding rather the spirit of these religious professions than a spiritless following of conventional rules.

> The true Brāhmins are those who observe Aram (Righteousness)
> Because they show benevolence to all life. (30)
>
> It is the life of the Householder which is true Aram. (49)
>
> The Man who lives in the World as he ought
> Is fit to be classed among the Gods of Heaven. (50)
>
> A Brāhmin may re-learn the Vedas he forgets
> But he can never regain a name lost by bad conduct. (134)
>
> More renounced than hermits is the householder
> Who forgives the words of the wicked. (159)
>
> Those who perform fasts are great indeed ; but only next to those (householders) who forgive the evil words of neighbours. (160)
>
> Better than a thousand Vedic sacrifices
> Is the saving of one single (animal) life. (259)
>
> Many are the impure of heart who pose as great ascetics
> And seek ritual purity by ablutions. (278)
>
> Neither the shaving of the head nor the growth of long hair is necessary to ascetics
> If in their conduct they be true to their calling. (280)

Throughout these and similar verses there is the sound of either a reformer of present conduct or a defendant of past ideals who resents the introduction of new values. On the one hand these verses seem to insist, as in the Jain and Buddhist books, that self-control is the true asceticism, that purity of heart is greater than ritualistic ablutions, that forgiveness of injuries and non-killing comprise the true sacrifice, that becoming conduct is more meritorious than Vedic recitation. On the other hand verses which profess that family life is the greatest aṟam (dhamma), hospitality the greatest sacrifice, children the greatest joy,

and altruistic love the Great Commandment, and many other verses entirely humanist in their inspiration justify the view that the *Tirukkural* is by and large a humanist codex.[25]

The *Manimēkalai* is pre-eminently a book of Buddhist polemics and doctrines woven into a chain of narratives in which the chief character finds her haven in the Three-fold Refuge. The Buddhist " epic " too shows a great love for the Tamil country and its traditions. While it passes no value judgments about the cults of Siva and Vishnu and the worship of Kāḷi, the *Manimēkalai* is critical of both Jain compassion and the Brāhmin doctrine of sacrifice, as well as of the intercessory power of the gods to avert the consequence of deeds, and of the moral conduct of some of the gods themselves. The story of Sutamati and her discovery of the absence of compassion among Jain ascetics, and the cruelty shown by the Brāhmins to Āputra because of his compassion for a cow destined for sacrifice, and the conversion of these two to Buddhism, is part of the scope of the poem to show the acceptability of the Buddhist religion as superior to the others. Manimēkalai is exhorted by Kaṇṇagi in a vision to interview the teachers of different religions, after which she would realise for herself that the other systems did not contain the truth. Thus she would come to tread the " path of the Piṭakas of the Great One ".[26] The conversion of a renowned and accomplished danseuse and courtesan as Mātavi, the Tamil Ambapāli, and of her beautiful daughter Manimēkalai, to Buddhism, and ascribing interest in Buddhism to Kōvalan and Kaṇṇagi in a previous birth and predicting their attainment of Nirvāna through Buddhism in a future birth are part of the same plan of the poet to preach Buddhism as superior to Jain and Vedic beliefs.

25 Whether the humanism of the *Tirukkural* is theistic is controverted, particularly because the first verses, among which occur verses of theistic import, are said to be interpolations or are claimed by some scholars to refer to the Buddha or to Mahavira.

26 *Mani.*, XXVI, 66.

The Realms of Love:

Poems from Narrinai, an anthology of the Sangam Age.

Translated by S. NATESAN.

9

As zealous devotees who are in quest
of Life immortal get a vision some day
of God, as they sought Him, so, Dear, today
I have got thee, and my heart is at rest.
Now like a nymph decked on thy speckled breast
with Punku blossoms like rice grains puffed, so gay,
And leaves of lustrous green thou might'st here play
Awhile on the sand, then in the shade we'll rest.
Thus resting where thou see'st sand or shade,
Well could'st thou chase away all weariness,
And slowly walk, beaming thy radiant smile.
There the cuckoos call in the balmy glade,
Pecking at mango buds in happiness,
And yonder hamlets all the way beguile!

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Like clouds which drinking of the eastern sea
Spread westwards, darkening the sky, and rain
All around, flashing lightning strokes like sparks
That fly from copper pots when shaped by smiths,
And rumbling, southward turn, so has my heart
Gone where my Lover is : my body fed
Stays like a lonely sentinel that guards
A city desolate whence have people fled
Fearing the invading hordes of a vengeful King.

காதல் ஆட்சிகள்

நற்றிணை—சங்க காலத் தொகை நூல்

9

அழிவில முயலு மார்வ மாக்கள்
வழிபடு தெய்வங் கட்கண் டாஅங்
கலமரல் வருத்தந் தீர யாழநின்
னலமென் பணைத்தோ ளெய்தின மாகலின்
பொரிப்பூம் புன்கி னெழில்தகை யொண்முறி
சுணங்கணி வனமுலை யணங்குகொளத் திமிரி
நிழல்காண் தோறு நெடிய வைகி
மணல்காண் தோறும் வண்ட றைஇ
வருந்தா தேகுமதி வாலெயிற் றோயே!
மாநனை கொழுதி மகிழ்குயி லாலும்
நறுந்தண் பொழில கானங்
குறுய்ப லூரயாஞ் செல்லும் ஆறே.

153

குணகடல் முகந்து குடக்கேர்பு இருளி
மண் திணி ஞாலம் விளங்கக் கம்மியர்
செம்புசொரி பானையின் மின்னிஎவ் வாயும்
தன்தொழில் வாய்த்த இன்குரல் எழிலி
தென்புல மருங்கிற் சென்றற் றங்கு
நெஞ்சம் அவர்வயின் சென்றன ஈண்டொழிந்து
உண்டல் அளித்தென் உடம்பே விறற்போர்
வெஞ்சின வேந்தன் பகையலைக் கலங்கி
வாழ்வோர் போகிய பேரூர்ப்
பாழ்காத் திருந்த தனிமகன் போன்றே.

154

The forest has become still, and the sky
Is pitch dark like the caves in the rocky heights.
The thundering clouds have not ceased to rumble ;
Frail Girl ! sleep'st thou, not hearing the fearful growl
Of the angry, wide-mouthed tiger, which has slain
And laid aside on its right, an elephant
In the thicket where the rain clouds seem to creep.
If thy lover does not come tonight, it would
Be well indeed ; like water poured on fire
It would becalm our hearts distraught with dread.
My uneasy mind dwells on his difficult path
Where the rains beats, confronted by the hills.

156

Thou in this dark night when one's way is hard
To see hast come, passing our spacious, guarded
Fort : such has been thy great love, chieftain Lord
Of high hills ! We singing about thy mountain
And thee, shall guard our small-grained millet fields
For many days. Hence in the daytime come
To dispel our troubles. For the rustic men
That dwell on these high hills where rushes grow
Are fierce, though drunk. The moving clouds resounding
In clefts have settled on our mountain crests.

166

Darling, like gold and sapphire are your body
And dark redolent tresses ; like blue lilies
And shoots of bamboo are your beauteous
Collyrium-painted eyes and shapely arms ;
Whenever these I see, my heart is full.
And I feel like those who have virtues attained ;
And now our child bedecked in gold has learnt
To play. No work have I elsewhere ; what can
Prompt me to part from you ? My love for you
Is greater far indeed than the ocean wide.

154

கானமுங் கம்மென் றன்றே; வானமும்
வரைகிழிப்பு அன்ன மையிருள் பரப்பிப்
பல்குரல் எழிலி பாடோ வாதே;
மஞ்சுதவழ் இறும்பில் களிறுவலம் படுத்த
வெஞ்சின உழுவைப் பேழ்வாய் ஏற்றை
அஞ்சுதக உரறும் ஓசை கேளாது
துஞ்சுதி யோஇல தூவி லாட்டி!
பேரஞர் பொருத புகர்படு நெஞ்சம்
நீரடு நெருப்பில் தணிய இன்றவர்
வாரா ராயினோ நன்றே; சாரல்
விலங்குமலை யாராறு உள்ளுதொறும்
நிலம்பரந்து ஒழுகும்என் நிறையில் நெஞ்சே.

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நீயே, அடியறிந்து ஒதுங்கா ஆரிருள் வந்தெம்
கடியுடை வியனகர்க் காவல் நீவியும்
பேரன் பினையே பெருங்கல் நாட!
யாமே, நின்னுநின் மலையும் பாடிப் பன்னாள்
சிறுதினை காக்குவஞ் சேறும்; அதனால்,
பகல்வந் தீமோ பல்படர் அகல;
எருவை நீடிய பெருவரைச் சிறுகுடி
அரியல் ஆர்ந்தவ ராயினும் பெரியர்
பாடிமிழ் விடர்முகை முழங்க
ஆடுமழை இறுத்ததெங் கோடுயர் குன்றே.

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பொன்னும் மணியும் போலும் யாழநின்
நன்னர் மேனியும் நாறிருங் கதுப்பும்;
போதும் பணையும் போலும் யாழநின்
மாதர் உண்கணும் வனப்பின் தோளும்;
இவைகாண் தோறும் அகமலிந்து யானும்
அறநிலை பெற்றோர் அனையேன்; அதன்தலைப்
பொலந்தொடிப் புதல்வனும் பொய்தல் கற்றனன்;
வினையும் வேறுபுலத்து இலனே; நினையின்
யாதனிற் பிரிவாம்? மடந்தை!
காதல் தானுங் கடலினும் பெரிதே.

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" The darling daughter of the mountain chief,
She is well guarded ; access to her is hard.
Thy words of love she cannot understand.
Hence do not think of her " : thus, friend, thou say'st
On Kolli hill whose high and faultless top
The Gods protect and where the jak trees yield
Fruits on their red roots and white cascades fall,
A statue stands whose beauteous form remains
Untarnished, whether gales blow or hail bursts,
Or fiercely thunder rolls or other dangers
Rise or the world itself is wroth. My love,
Fair like that statue, cannot part from my heart.

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'மலையுறை குறவன் காதல் மடமகள்
பெறலருங் குரையள்; அருங்கடிக் காப்பினள்;
சொல்லெதிர் கொள்ளாள்; இளையள் அனையோள்
உள்ளல் கூடா'தென்றோய்! மற்றுஞ்
செவ்வேர்ப் பலவின் பயங்கெழு கொல்லித்
தெய்வங் காக்குந் தீதுதீர் நெடுங்கோட்டு
அவ்வெள் அருவிக் குடவரை அகத்துக்
கால்பொருது இடிப்பினுங் கதழுறை கடுகினும்
உருமுடன்று எறியினும் ஊறுபல தோன்றினும்
பெருநிலங் கிளரினுந் திருநல உருவின்
மாயா இயற்கைப் பாவையிற்
போதல் ஒல்லாளென் நெஞ்சத் தானே.

NOTICE

A RARE OPPORTUNITY FOR RESEARCH SCHOLARS AND LIBRARIES

A few copies of the following back numbers of *Tamil Culture* are available for sale :—

1954 Vol. III, Nos. 1-4 (one set) Rs. 8 per set of unbound copies and Rs. 10 for bound volume.

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Book Review

TWO THOUSAND YEARS OF TAMIL LITERATURE: An anthology with studies and translations by J. M. Somasundaram Pillai, Annamalainagar P.O., South India. Price Rs. 8.25.

Foreign Readers of *Tamil Culture* have often made enquiries regarding the availability of translations of standard Tamil classics, at least in the form of selections or anthologies. It was not possible hitherto to point to single books of translations, though translations of single poems were scattered in Reviews like the *Indian Antiquary*, the *Siddantha Deepika* and other publications. Mr. J. M. Somasundaram Pillai, Director of Publications, Annamalai University, has brought an anthology of Tamil poetry of the last two thousand years, together with their English translations. The translations are not of equal merit, since the translators are different persons like G. U. Pope, J. N. Nallaswamy Pillai, K. M. Balasubramaniam and Mr. J. M. Somasundaram Pillai himself. The book includes, among other poems, English translations of several poems of Purananuru by G. U. Pope, the Ten Idylls, and numerous extracts from the Ethical books and from devotional literature. The different sections form a representative collection of the various sections of Tamil poetry. It is an advantage that the Tamil text has been published along with the English translation. We are thankful that Mr. J. M. Somasundaram Pillai took the initiative of publishing this work at his own expense. It is the duty of those who are able to recommend this book for purchase by libraries and individuals to see to its wide diffusion. Here is a book which might be sent as a present to foreign friends and libraries. One would have, however, preferred this book to have been better produced. Copies may be had from the editor at Rs. 8.25 per copy. Editor's address: Mr. J. M. Somasundaram Pillai, Director of Publications, Annamalai University, Annamalainagar P.O., South India.

XSTN.

News and Notes

ALL INDIA WRITERS' CONFERENCE, DECEMBER 1959

UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH INDIA

In his Presidential Address at the All-India Writers' Conference held in Madras on December 16, 1959, Mr. Tara Sankar Banerji said :—

The practice of measuring our own excellence or shortcomings by Western yardsticks has been current for so long that to many of us it is unimaginable that we can have our own standard also, as good as and, in certain spheres, even better than the Western standard. Strangely enough this beggarly mentality — this absolute dependence upon lands beyond the seas and the mountains for our current ideals in art, literature, politics, and strongest of all, religion and philosophy — has been, and still very often is, glorified as progressive outlook.

For geographical reasons, perhaps, or may be, for some reasons still deeper, we of the North have been overpowered many times and later fallen for our victors. But the South has always been more cautious and circumspect. Simple, undemonstrative, never addicted to heroics, South has a happy intellectual balance which resists being hustled into accepting a dogma or a doctrine which has not proved itself as acceptable. South can wait for the spiritual cooking process to render the gifts of a new civilisation suitable for digestion and speedy assimilation. But we of the North are often too impatient to wait for this cooking process, and gorge ideas and fashions whole and raw, with sometimes very tragic results.

I, therefore, hope that the get-together to-day between the North and the South should not end with the present Conference, but should be the beginning of a deeper and more cordial understanding which will temper our impulsiveness by contact with balanced minds and perhaps, give

a little dynamic urge to the excellent intellectual equipment of the South. Given this, India will last against physical and ideological onslaughts from any quarter. Time is out of joint and an occasional re-appraisal of our stand is necessary.

—*The Hindu* (17-12-59).

TAMIL MUSIC

"Tamil language is rich in its heritage and knows no parallel in sweetness. We should strive ceaselessly to make the greatness of our languages understood by others through translations, and also take the best in other languages and have them translated into Tamil, thus establishing inter-cultural understanding," said Dr. P. Subbaroyan, Union Minister for Transport and Communications, inaugurating the 17th Tamil Isai Festival at Raja Annamalai Hall, Madras.

Dr. Subbaroyan said painting and sculpture, music and drama were the three aspects of the culture of a nation.

The devotional songs of Thevaram, Prabandam, Arutpa and songs sung by Thayumanavar were inspiring and soul-stirring. Music was fostered and nurtured by these saints and also patronised by ancient Tamil kings. Though music transcended linguistic barriers, it was indispensable for the musician, as to the listener, to possess a knowledge of the language of the 'sahityas'. for the proper appreciation and enjoyment of musical compositions.

Dr. Subbaroyan suggested simple songs should be composed and operas written towards propagating information and educating the people on various health and welfare schemes. Folk songs of the type of Kavadi Chindu, Nondi Chindu would considerably reinforce such efforts.

The ancient Tamil kings employed songs and dramas to instil patriotism, bravery and a spirit of sacrifice in their soldiers. The same method could be adopted now to

accelerate the work of the Community Projects and National Extension service. It would lead to greater production, prosperity and happpiness.

—*The Mail* (26-12-59).

TAMIL COURSE IN CHICAGO UNIVERSITY

America was to-day doing a very valuable service to make Indian studies popular, said Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, delivering a lecture on "Indic studies in the U.S." on October 16 at the USIS library, Madras.

Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, who returned recently from U.S. after a tour as Visiting Professor at the Chicago University, referred in detail to the interest shown by Harvard, California, Columbia, Yale, San Francisco and other American universities in promoting the cause of Indian language and literature. In most of the universities great attention was being paid to the study of various Indian languages like Bengali, Hindi, Sanskrit and Urdu. The Chicago University was planning to start a course in Tamil.

—*The Hindu* (17-10-59)

TAMIL AS MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION IN COLLEGES

Mr. C. Subramaniam, Finance and Education Minister, Madras, said in the Legislative Assembly that the standard of English in the University classes would be "maintained and perhaps be upgraded", even though Tamil would be introduced as the medium of instruction in colleges.

—*The Hindu* (11-12-59).

THE COLLEGE TAMIL COMMITTEE

The College Tamil Committee constituted by the Government of Madras to advise them on the measures to be taken for the introduction of the Tamil medium in the 3 year B.A. Degree course of the Pilot College (Govern-

ment Arts College, Coimbatore) met at the P.S.G. College of Technology, Peelamedu, and had a continuous session for 7 days from the 25th to 31st December, 1959.

Mr. G. R. Damodaran, Chairman of the College Tamil Committee, presided.

Technical terms for Politics and Public Administration, History, Economics, Psychology, Philosophy, Geography and Sciences-Minor, viz. Physics, Chemistry, Astronomy, Biology and Statistics, were compiled by experts. These are expected to cover the syllabuses prescribed by the University of Madras for the B.A. Degree courses. The equivalents in Tamil for these terms were prepared by them in consultation with the various sources now in existence. Copies of these were circulated to all the colleges, Universities, the Press and leading educationists. All the suggestions, alternatives and comments received were tabulated. The Committee, during this session of 7 days, after examining the tabulated equivalents in all the subjects has selected the most suitable among them and finalised them. Every care has been taken by the member of the College Tamil Committee proficient in the subject to see that the equivalent conveys the concept accurately. Transliterations of technical terms, wherever equivalents are not available, have been adopted.

The glossaries, as soon as they are printed, will be made available for the authors who have been commissioned to write books for the colleges and for others.

—*The Hindu*

LITERATURE FOR CHILDREN

Sixteen books in Tamil, written by 12 authors, were released by Mr. M. Bhaktavatsalam, Home Minister, at a function organised by the Children's Writers' Association at Srinivasa Sastri Hall, Mylapore, Madras, on November 14 as part of the Children's Day and Mr. Nehru's birthday celebrations. Mr. K. Santhanam presided.

Mr. Al. Valliappa, President of the Association, welcomed the gathering and announced that Mr. Thambi Srinivasan, one of the members, had just been awarded a prize by the Government of India for his drama "Tanga Kuzhandaigal".

Mr. Poovannan read the list of authors whose books have been released on the occasion and introduced those who were present. Five were written by Mr. N. D. Sundaravadivelu (D.P.I.) and one each by Messrs. Mayilai Sivamuthu, "Raji", N. S. Deivasigamani, N. Jagannathan, S. Y. Subramaniam, Naga Muthiah, A. Rangaswami, V. Narasimhan, Mana Arangaswami, "Vandu Mama" and Thanigai Ulaganathan. The book publishers were also introduced next by Mr. K. A. Chellappan.

—*The Hindu* (18-11-59).

ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF CHILDREN'S WRITERS

Inaugurating the first annual conference of children's writers under the auspices of the Children's Writers' Association on October 21, 1959 at Rajaji Hall, Madras, Mr. Bishnuram Medhi, the Governor, emphasised that writers should study carefully the needs of children and produce such books as would attract them, create reading habit in them and stimulate the development of their latent faculties.

The Governor presented on the occasion shields to Mr. Myilai Sivamuthu and Mr. T. R. Ranganathan for their outstanding work in the field of children's literature.

Mr. Bishnuram Medhi congratulated the Association on taking upon itself the task of bringing together writers and popularising children's books. He referred to the progress achieved in foreign countries in specialising in the art of producing children's books and emphasised that the get-up of children's books had to be very beautiful and attractive. They should contain profuse illustrations and

pictorial representations. Only those who had adequate knowledge of the requirements and the necessary training and experience, he said, could produce literature for children. Producers of children's books had an additional responsibility not only in the selection of themes but also in the matter of style of expression and presentation. Children's literature should be wholesome and at the same time entertaining and should have a moral background. It should be useful for the integrated development of the child's body, mind and intellect.

The Governor commended the various activities of the Association to promote suitable literature for children and said that it was the duty of parents and teachers to make available books which would stimulate the latent faculties of children and make them grow into responsible adults with character and ability and lay a foundation on the basis of their culture and tradition.

Mr. Al. Valliappa, President of the Association, in his address, said that children's literature was growing but the pace of progress was not fast enough. The fact that many publishers had come forward to publish children's books would create an atmosphere for the development of children's literature. The reading habit was noticeable among the present-day children and it should be canalised in the right direction. What was important was that the thoughts and desires of children should be well understood by those who produced books suitable for children. He urged that story-poems should be developed in Tamil as in English. It was wrong, he added, to suppress the thirst for knowledge among children in their formative period. They should quench that thirst by bringing out suitable literature for them.

Mr. Valliappa hoped that the Government would help in setting up an organisation on the lines of the Tamil Valarchi Kazhagam to devote attention exclusively to the development of literature for children. He felt that a great future lay ahead if women with whom children came

into greater contact, paid greater attention to the production of children's books. He suggested that there should be a children's library in every place and said that great care should be taken in the selection of books which should not poison knowledge.

—*The Hindu* (23-11-59).

STANDARD OF PUBLICATIONS IN TAMIL

The need for raising the standard of books that were being published now in the Tamil language was emphasised by Dr. S. R. Ranganathan at a meeting held under the auspices of Maraimalai Adigal Library in George Town, Madras. Mr. V. Subbiah Pillai presided.

—*The Hindu*

MADRAS CITY COLLEGE STUDENTS' TAMIL MANRAM

Propagation of Tamil Language and Literature

The need for propagating the greatness of Tamil language and literature was stressed by speakers on the occasion of the inauguration of the activities of the Madras City College Students' Tamil Manram for this year at a function held at Loyola College.

Rev. Fr. Laurence Sundaram, Principal, Loyola College, said that students from 25 colleges had become members of the Manram. The aim of the organisation was to propagate the greatness of Tamil by learning to compose poems and songs in Tamil and to help students speak the language fluently.

Mr. K. Vezhavendan, President of the Manram, said that the organisation would try to foster the growth of Tamil language and encourage the youth to develop a love towards Tamil. He said that *Tirukural* had been recently translated into Russian. But a mistake had crept in in the

preface to the book. It has been mentioned that Tiruvalluvar lived in the 7th or 8th century A.D. But every Tamil lover knew that Tiruvalluvar lived more than 1,500 years ago. The Manram could help in pointing out such mistakes and make the correction.

—*The Hindu* (24-10-59).

CIVIC RECEPTION TO TAMIL SCHOLARS AT MADURAI

The Madurai Municipal Council presented a civic address to Tamil scholars, who had assembled at Madurai for the quarterly meeting of the Tamil Nad Poets Council.

The Council formed last year, aims at "furthering the use of pure Tamil in the administration and day-to-day life".

Among those honoured were: Mr. Somasundara Bharathi, Mr. Ayyamperumal Konar, Mr. Manickavachagar (Dharmapuram Mutt), Mr. A. K. Paranthamanar, Mr. Mayilai Sivamuthu, Mr. G. Subramania Pillai, Tamil Research Section, Annamalai University, Mr. Alalasundaram and Mr. Mascarenhas.

Mr. J. Devasahayam, Municipal Chairman, in the address said that contrary to ancient days when Tamil Kings had patronised poets and scholars, today the representatives of the people in the Council honoured men of letters. The talents of the scholars — in thinking and doing research — were now greatly needed by the people, he said.

—*The Mail* (6-10-59).

THE TAMIL NAD POETS' COUNCIL

The Tamil Nad Poets' Council, an organisation working for furthering the use of chaste Tamil in administration and day-to-day life, has denounced the importation of 'foreign words' into Tamil language in the name of the Constitution.

The Council, which held its quarterly meeting on October 4, 1959 at Madurai, suggested that the original Tamil names of gods in South Indian temples should be revived, and their Sanskrit equivalents discarded. It wanted temple prayers to be conducted in Tamil. Other demands include Government jobs for 'better recognition' and honours for Tamil scholars on occasions like Independence Day celebrations in the State and at Delhi, and a separate Tamil University at Madurai.

—*The Mail* (6-10-59).

TAMIL PUBLICATIONS UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE UNESCO.

Eight Tamil books published with the assistance of UNESCO under the auspices of the Southern Languages Book Trust by various publishers were released at a pleasant function held at Madras on December 7, 1959.

—*The Hindu* (8-12-59).

THE TAMIL DEVELOPMENT AND RESEARCH COUNCIL

Promotion of Folk Art

The Madras Government have constituted a committee for the study and promotion of folk-lore and folk dances. The members of the committee are : Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai (Chairman), Dr. A. Chidambaranathan, M.L.C., Mr. K. V. Jagannathan, Editor, *Kalaimagal* and Mr. S. Venkataswami (members). The committee, if necessary, will co-opt one more member. Mr. V. Kannaiyan, Secretary of the Tamil Development and Research Council, is the Secretary.

The Tamil Research Council, it may be recollected, at its meeting in April last, considered this question and decided that an agency for the study and compilation of folk-lore was essential.

—*The Hindu* (23-10-59).

HISTORICAL TAMIL DICTIONARY

The Government have constituted a committee to draw up a scheme for the compilation of a dictionary of Tamil words, with a comparative historical study of the changes in meaning undergone by such words. The committee will consist of Mr. T. P. Meenakshisundaram (Chairman), Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai, Dr. M. A. Durairangaswamy, Reader, University of Madras, and Mr. A. S. Gnanasambantham, Assistant Director (Translation), in the Information Department, Government of Madras (members). The committee has been empowered to co-opt two more members, if necessary.

The constitution of this committee has been undertaken on the recommendation of the Tamil Development and Research Council which has suggested that such a historical Tamil dictionary should be prepared and published.

—*The Hindu* (11-12-59).

SEMINAR FOR TAMIL PANDITS

A ten-day Seminar for Tamil Pandits from all over Madras State was inaugurated by Mr. N. D. Sundaravadivelu, Director of Public Instruction, on December 23, 1959 in the Teachers' College, Saidapet, Madras.

Forty teachers who have put in more than five years' service, are attending this 'Refresher Course'. They will be given an idea of the latest trends in methods of instruction.

—*The Hindu* (24-12-59).

Extract from Letter

FROM A READER IN MALAYA

" This magazine (*Tamil Culture*) is doing much needed work of discovering to people overseas the fineness of Dravidian Civilization.

" As a citizen of Malaya I am particularly interested in the contribution that this civilization has made to the development of South-East Asian civilizations. The history books that deal with the Indian period in South-East Asia do not, as a rule, throw much light on whether the bearers of Buddhist and Sanskrit civilizations to these parts were mainly Dravidian peoples. The true picture would seem to be that Sanskrit civilization, whose original inspiration had most likely been, even though to an indeterminate extent, Dravidian, began to exercise a powerful influence on Dravidian peoples towards the latter half of the first millennium after Christ; this has been reflected on the one hand by the development in India of Malayalam, Telugu and other Sanskrit impregnated languages of Dravidian ancestry, and on the other by the predominance of Sanskrit words, customs, etc. in the civilizations carried to the shores of South-East Asia by people who presumably were, by and large, of Dravidian stock. The position was, perhaps, not unlike that in Northern Europe in the Middle Ages when Latin was used for various transactions by people whose native tongues were not of Latin ancestry. I would be very grateful for your advice whether any research has been done into this aspect of the extension of Dravidian civilization overseas.

" I find your feature on 'News and Notes' very informative. . . . . "

Transliteration of Tamil Phonemes* into English

VOWELS

அ	—	a	(as in among)
ஆ	—	a:	(„ calm)
இ	—	i	(„ sit)
ஈ	—	i:	(„ machine)
உ	—	u	(„ full)
ஊ	—	u:	(„ rule)
எ	—	e	(„ fed)
ஏ	—	e:	(„ able)
ஐ	—	ai	(„ aisle)
ஒ	—	o	(„ opinion)
ஓ	—	o:	(„ opium)
ஔ	—	au	(„ now)

CONSONANTS

				Hints re: articulation
Hard[1]	க	—	k	(as in king, angle, alhambra)
(Plosive)	ச	—	c	(„ church, angel, calcium)
	ட	—	t:	(„ card ?)....Retroflex - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
	த	—	th	(„ threat, this, thick)....dental.
	ப	—	p	(„ pipe, amber)
	ற	—	t	(„ atlas, sunday, arrears)..Retroflex-articulate with **tip** of tongue.
Soft	ங	—	ng	(„ sing)....velar n
(Nasal)	ஞ	—	nj	(„ angel)....palatal n
	ண	—	n:	(„ urn ?)....Retroflex n - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
	ந	—	nh	(„ anthem)....dental n
	ம	—	m	(„ mate)
	ன	—	n	(„ enter)....Retroflex n - articulate with **tip** of tongue.
Medium	ய	—	y	(„ yard)
(non-nasal	ர	—	r	(„ red)
continuant)	ல	—	l	(„ leave)....Alveolar l - articulate with **tip** of tongue.
	வ	—	v	(„ very)
	ழ	—	l-	(„ ?)....Retroflex l - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
	ள	—	l:	(„ hurl)....Alveolar l - articulate with **blade** of tongue.
Auxiliary[2] (ஆய்தம்)	∴	—	x	(„ ahead)

* The Tamil phonemes may for practical purposes be treated as having single allophones only, except ~~in the case of~~ the hard consonants which have four allophones each, as shown in note 1 on the reverse.

1. The Phonemes, classified as *hard*, have normally an *unaspirated unvoiced* value but acquire the following modified values if preceded by a consonant:—

   (a) a *slightly aspirated* unvoiced value, if preceded by a *plosive or hard consonant.*

   e.g., பக்கம் - is pronounced pakkham, not pakkam

   (b) an unaspirated but *voiced* value, if preceded by a *nasal or soft consonant*:—

   e.g., பங்கம் - is pronounced pangam, not pankam
   பஞ்சம் - „ panjam, not pancam,

   (c) a *fricative* value if preceded by a *non-nasal continuant or medium consonant or by the auxiliary consonant.*

   e.g., பல்கலை becomes palhalai not palkalai
   எஃகு „ ehhu not exku

NOTE.—In most present day dialects, the plosive assumes a fricative—sometimes a voiced—value after a vowel also, except in the case of t: which retains its normal unaspirated, unvoiced value even after a vowel.

2. The value of this *auxiliary* phoneme, which must *always* be followed by a hard consonant, was variable during the time of Tholkappiam; it acquired a phonetic value identical with that of the following hard consonant, vide 1 (c) above,

   e.g., எஃகு became ehhu

   Later its value became fixed as h, irrespective of the following consonant.

Note. (i) With a view to keep down transliteration to the minimum it is suggested that, in the case of Tamil words which are already in free use in English (e.g., Tamil=Thamil), or where it is unnecessary to indicate the exact pronunciation, accurate transliteration need not be resorted to. In the case of proper names etc., which occur more than once in the same article, the transliteration need be shown only once in brackets side by side with a free English adaptation, the latter alone being used subsequently, except of course in cases where such a procedure will lead to ambiguity,

e.g., வேங்கடம் = Vengadam (Ve : ngkat : am).

(ii) Reference may be made to *Tamil Culture*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (January 1955 issue) pp. 58-73 for fuller details.

CORRECTION

We regret that a 'printer's devil' had crept in, in the article headed "THE POET OF REVOLT" published in *Tamil Culture,* Vol VIII, No. 2. The first line of the Tamil poem printed on page 77 in that article should correctly read as "கற்பிளந்து, மலை பிளந்து, கனிகள் வெட்டி."

THE TAMIL SCRIPT

(This table is given for the guidance of those who wish to read Tamil texts which often appear in TAMIL CULTURE)

Vowels	Vowel symbols attached to preceding consonant.	Hard consonants						Soft consonants						Medium consonants					
		k	c	t:	th	p	t	ng	nj	n:	nh	m	n	y	r	l	v	l–	l:
அ a	nil	க	ச	ட	த	ப	ற	ங	ஞ	ண	ந	ம	ன	ய	ர	ல	வ	ழ	ள
ஆ a:	ா to the right of the consonant	கா					றா			ணா			னா						
இ i	ி to be *joined* at the top—right of consonant	கி																	
ஈ i:	ீ to be *joined* at the top—right of consonant	கீ																	
உ u	a semi-circle ◡, a vertical stroke ı or a loop to be *joined* to the bottom	கு	சு	டு	து	பு	று	ஙு	ஞு	ணு	நு	மு	னு	யு	ரு	லு	வு	ழு	ளு
ஊ u:	Same as for u, but with an additional stroke or loop	கூ	சூ	டூ	தூ	பூ	றூ	ஙூ	ஞூ	ணூ	நூ	மூ	னூ	யூ	ரூ	லூ	வூ	ழூ	ளூ
எ e	ெ to the left of the consonant	கெ																	
ஏ e:	ே to the left of the consonant	கே																	
ஐ ai	ை to the left of the consonant	கை								ணை			னை			லை			ளை
ஒ o	ெ to the left & ா to the right of the consonant	கொ					றொ			ணொ			னொ						
ஓ o:	ே to the left & ா to the right	கோ					றோ			ணோ			னோ						
ஔ au	ெ to the left & ள to the right	கௌ																	
மெய் pure consonants	A dot · on the top of the consonant	க்																	

Note.—(1) The vowels are written as shown in the first vertical column.

(2) The consonants are written as shown in the horizontal columns, with a symbol or symbols indicating the vowel immediately following. A consonant followed by the vowel அ (a) has no symbol, while the pure consonant not followed by a vowel has a dot on top.

(3) **All the eighteen vowel consonants under க (k) are shown as a guide ; in other cases only the irregular forms are shown, the rest being exactly similar to those shown under க (k), excepting for trivial differences in a few cases which might safely be ignored.**

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